

FEMALE CRIME IN NEW ZEALAND 1950-1980:

CHARACTERISTICS AND TRENDS

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ABSTRACT

An analysis of female crime in New Zealand since 1950, as reflected in District Court and Children's Court prosecutions, is undertaken. The major aims of the study are, firstly, to provide a descriptive account of the nature of, and trends in, female crime in New Zealand; and, secondly, to examine the theory that women's emancipation has led to an overall increase in female crime relative to male crime, or to relative increases in employment-related offences, or to both. It is found that female offence rates are generally much lower than male rates. However, females engage in a wide range of illegal activities, and female and male offence profiles show more similarities than differences. Crime rates for both sexes rose markedly between 1950 and the mid-1970s, then began to level off in many major areas. No overall increase in female crime relative to male crime is found. In fact, sex differences have tended to increase rather than decrease. Convergence between the sexes is found only in adult and juvenile fraud (including social security fraud), adult forgery, and juvenile wounding and drugs offences (other than cannabis). No evidence is found that converging trends are employment-related. Further, conventional indices of emancipation correlate with the converging rates no better than with other offences, and no better than do other measures of social change. It is concluded that the emancipation of women is not responsible for the few instances of convergence found.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Past neglect of female criminality

Female crime has always been less frequent, less serious - and less researched - than male crime. According to Smart (1977, p.90) and other writers (Rasche 1974, p.304; Fielding 1977, p.154; and Heidensohn 1968, p.161), the neglect of research into female criminality has been due mainly to the problem-solving bias in criminological research. Because female crime has not been regarded as much of a social problem until recently, it has not been considered an important avenue for research. As a consequence, most 'general' theories of crime causation have in fact been specialised theories of male criminality (Harris 1977, p.3), while the few who have been drawn to the study of female crime have tended to operate outside of the mainstream of criminological thought.

Present interest in female criminality

In recent years, however, the etiology of female crime, and the sex differential, have been the subject of a growing body of research. There is now a fairly general agreement that the criminal behaviour of both sexes is the result of the same explanatory variables, and that differences in socialisation and opportunities are responsible for much of the sex differential. Out of this theoretical perspective, and coupled with a perceived rise in female criminality over the last twenty or so years, an old debate has resumed over the possibility that women's emancipation may be criminogenic.

Overseas research is inconclusive with respect to both the 'female crime wave' and the possible involvement of women's emancipation - however defined. In New Zealand, very little research

exists which is capable of throwing light on these questions. There has been no quantitative analysis specifically relating to female criminality since 1970. Although the entire June 1982 issue of the Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology was devoted to female crime in Australia and New Zealand, all the empirical studies included in the issue relate to Australia only. The result is a lack of up-to-date information about female crime in New Zealand.

Research aims

The primary aim of this project is to describe the nature of and trends in female crime in New Zealand since 1950. Statistics published by the New Zealand Department of Statistics are analysed to measure the extent of female involvement in various types of offence since 1950.

The second aim is to examine the claims that female crime is rising faster than male crime, and that women's emancipation - however defined - is causally implicated.

Definitions

In the following pages, terms such as 'crime', 'offence', 'delinquency', etc., are used interchangeably to refer to behaviour which is at the present time prohibited by law in New Zealand.

The term, 'relative increases in female crime' refers to female crime rates which are rising faster than the equivalent male rates, i.e., where the two rates are converging.

'The emancipation of women' is defined very broadly as advances made or purported to be made towards equality with males.

Organisation of thesis

In Chapter Two, the literature on female criminality is reviewed, focusing on works relevant to the research aims described above.

Chapter Three sets out the research aims and methods. Chapters Four and Five contain the Results and Discussion respectively, and the Conclusions are presented in a brief final chapter.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review focuses on the literature relating directly to the emancipation debate and the quantitative evidence on which it is based. However, to provide a background and context for this examination, these topics are preceded by a brief discussion of early research into female crime, and present-day attempts to account for both the existence of female crime and the sex differential in criminality. The review deals firstly with the overseas literature - from the United States, Britain, Canada and Australia - and secondly with the small amount of New Zealand research into female crime.

Early research on female criminality

This small body of research has been reviewed several times in the last fifteen years (Heidensohn 1968; Klein 1973; Simon 1975a, 1975b; Smart 1976; Pollock 1978; Campbell 1981; and Robinson 1983). By and large, the reviews have been very critical of this research, and have come to the same overall conclusion: while there has been a growing trend since the turn of the century to attribute male criminality to social causes, the few who took an interest in female criminality continued to attribute both the low incidence of female crime, as well as the female crime that did occur, to internal causes of a physiological or psychological nature (e.g., Lombroso & Ferrero 1895; Thomas 1923; Glueck & Glueck 1934; Konopka 1966; Cowie, Cowie & Slater 1968; and Vedder & Somerville 1970). In addition, female criminality was widely believed to be channelled into 'immorality' rather than violent or property offences. The prostitute was regarded as the equivalent of the adult male criminal, and the promiscuous girl as the equivalent of the male juvenile delinquent.

Pollak (1961) took a slightly different perspective. He argued

that males and females are equally criminal in their actual behaviour. However, because women's primary sphere of activity is domestic, most of their crimes are committed in the domestic environment. And due to their 'natural deviousness', most of these crimes remain hidden, masked. However, Scutt (1978) and others have pointed to Pollak's lack of evidence for a large masked pool of female domestic crime. And they argue that there is no reason to suppose that females commit more hidden domestic crimes than males.

Application of 'general' theories of crime to female criminality

Feminist and other criminologists began to question the assumption that there are separate explanations for female and male crime. If female and male criminality are not qualitatively different, then the same explanatory variables - in different amounts and interactions, perhaps - should account for the occurrence of criminal behaviour in both sexes. So researchers began to apply certain so-called general crime theories to female crime. A comprehensive theory should be able to predict the sex differential in criminality as well as plausibly explain the existence of female and male crime. The most influential of these general theories in the literature on female criminality are the 'strain', 'social control' and 'peer group subculture' theories of crime causation.

(a) Strain theory proposes that people turn to criminal behaviour when their legitimate opportunities for status or material wealth are frustrated or blocked. However, as opportunities for females to acquire status and wealth are lower than for males, females should commit more crimes than males, not significantly less (Harris 1977, p.6). Cohen (1955) and Morris (1964, 1966) attempt to account for this anomaly by suggesting that males and females aspire to different goals, which conform to their sex roles: males to occupationally derived

status and wealth, and females to a good marriage and good family relationships. Females turn to sexual deviance (prostitution or promiscuity) when their opportunities to make a successful marriage or sustain good family relationships are perceived as hopeless.

Strain theory, therefore, depends upon a sexual and/or 'relational' interpretation of female deviance, which was in fact quite popular before the 1970s, and which derives at least in part from misinterpretation of official crime statistics on status offences.¹

Some empirical studies have been performed to test the strain theory of female deviance. The 'relational' nature of female delinquency is operationalised as either the proportion of 'broken homes' amongst the adolescents in the study, or the subjects' perceptions of relationships with their parents. The hypothesis is that girls who report delinquent behaviour will also report more broken homes or family conflict than boys who report delinquent behaviour. However, it has been found that family problems do not differentiate between male and female delinquents when the type of offence has been controlled for. Female and male status offenders report more family problems than criminal offenders of both sexes (Weeks 1940, pp.601-609; Datesman & Scarpitti 1980, p.146; Norland et al 1979, p.223).

1 The majority of charges against females were, until recent decades, related to prostitution or adolescent sexual activity, the latter often included under such titles as 'incurability', 'beyond control', 'running away from home', etc. These are the 'status offences', which by definition apply only to juveniles. Girls were charged with status offences far more often than boys, and it came to be widely believed that sexual delinquency was the female equivalent of male property and violent delinquency. More recent research methods, such as administration of self-report delinquency questionnaires to high school students, has now established that females do not 'specialise' in sexual offences, but that society is more concerned about sexual behaviour in girls than in boys, and prosecutes girls for the same behaviour that it condones in boys (Chesney-Lind 1977; Norland et al 1979; Omodei 1979; Warner 1982; and Sarri 1983). The wide variety of other crimes committed by females, albeit at relatively low levels, tended to be overlooked.

The empirical evidence therefore does not appear to support the strain theory of female deviance, as formulated above.

(b) Social control theory. Hindelang (1973, p.473) describes Hirschi's (1969) social control theory as follows :

"...delinquent behaviour becomes more probable as the individual's bond to society weakens. The bond has several components: attachment (caring about others, their opinions and expectations), commitment (time, energy and self invested in conventional behaviours), involvement (engrossment in conventional activities), and belief (attribution of moral validity to conventional norms) ...as elements of the bond become weakened, delinquency becomes possible, although not necessary."

Social control theory could account for the sex differential, if it could be shown that females are more committed to the norms and values of their society than males (Harris 1977, p.9).

Self-report studies conducted by Hindelang (1973, pp.486-487); Jensen & Eve (1976, p.443); Norland et al (1979, pp.230-235); Thornton & James (1979, p.235); and Figueira-McDonough et al (1981, p.44); suggest that social control, as defined by Hirschi, is negatively correlated with delinquent behaviour for both boys and girls (with the exception of attachment to peers, which seems to be positively correlated with delinquent behaviour).

However, the results also suggest that social control does not account adequately for sex differences in delinquency. Females do not exhibit much, if any, greater levels of attachment, commitment, involvement and belief than males. For this reason, social control theory, as formulated by Hirschi (1969), cannot on its own be considered a comprehensive general theory of criminality.

(c) Peer group subculture theory. While relational problems were once seen as the key to an understanding of female juvenile delinquency,

the criminogenic influence of the peer group has long been, and still is, regarded as critical to an understanding of male delinquency.

Self-report studies by Hindelang (1973, p.487), Giordano (1978, p.132), Norland et al (1979, p.237), Aultman (1980, p.190), and Figueira-McDonough et al (1981, p.44) suggest that peer group affiliation is positively related to delinquent behaviour in both boys and girls. And it is also widely accepted that girls, particularly in the past, have been subjected to greater parental supervision - and have therefore had less opportunity to engage in free-ranging peer-group activity - than boys. For these reasons, the peer group subculture theory would appear capable of accounting for both the existence of female juvenile delinquency and its lower occurrence rate than male juvenile delinquency. Other matters, such as the extension of minor delinquency into serious delinquency, and the continuation of delinquent behaviour into late adolescence and adulthood by some individuals, are not dealt with here, however.

Sex differences in criminality

Contemporary explanations for sex differences in criminality include labelling theory; structural factors (e.g. different opportunities); and cultural factors (e.g. different socialisation).

(a) Labelling theory. According to Harris & Hill (1982, p.165), the labelling theory of deviance contends that all groups commit illegal acts at about the same rate and that official statistics reflect the behaviour of the justice system and law enforcement officials rather than those who break the criminal law. That is, the system is biased against ethnic minorities and the poor, but biased in favour of females.

Self-report studies have tended to support the labelling perspective, by showing a lower male-to-female ratio than official statistics, when all offence categories are collapsed into one 'global'

category (e.g. Campbell 1977, p.172; Kratcoski & Kratcoski 1975, p.88). Campbell (1977, p.172) argues that police and justice system 'chivalry' are responsible for the under-representation of females in official crime records, and others appear to share this conclusion.

By the late 1970s, however, some researchers began to re-examine and subsequently to defend the reliability of official records in reflecting the relationships between social groups with respect to illegal behaviour. Hindelang, Hirschi & Weis (1979, pp. 998-999) reviewed several self-report studies and found that two major factors account for much of the discrepancy between official and self-report findings. Firstly, self-reports usually contain items of a very trivial nature, for which sex ratios are low (e.g., 'being sent out of class', 'hanging around railroad tracks and trains', 'hitchhiking', etc.), and often omit very serious property and violent offences, for which sex ratios are traditionally high (e.g., aggravated assault, robbery, etc.). Secondly, many self-report studies then present a global sex ratio, and compare this with a global ratio derived from official records - which is, of course, based on a more serious set of offences.

Feyerherm (1981, p.53) conducted a self-report study which included items on contact with the police, and found that frequency of police contact is related to frequency of delinquent behaviour, in that boys engage in delinquency more than girls, and also have more police contact.

Finally, Hindelang (1979, p.148) conducted an analysis of the results of a United States Government nationwide survey of the victims of crime, and found that sex ratios of identified offenders are very similar in both the victim survey and the UCRs (Uniform Crime Reports - United States arrest statistics compiled by the FBI).

Labelling theory is now invoked less often to explain apparent sex differences in criminality, and while many still consider that official records exaggerate the sex differential, few doubt that the

sex differential is real and significant.

(b) Structural factors can be said to represent behavioural norms imposed by others (e.g. by parental supervision or decree, or discriminatory job-hiring practices). As with the general crime theories, most attempts to test the structural perspective have focused on juvenile delinquency - that is, children and adolescents below the ages of 17 or 18. Restrictions on freedom of movement, and other aspects of parental supervision and control, are generally seen as important determinants of opportunity, and most studies show that girls do experience more parental supervision than boys.

The empirical work that has been done on differential opportunities generally supports the hypothesis. Smart (1976, p.68), Jensen & Eve (1976, p.436), James & Thornton (1980, p.237), Hagan et al (1979, p.32), all find or conclude that laxness of parental supervision and/or control is positively correlated with delinquent behaviour for both sexes. Jensen & Eve (1976, p.444), however, found that there is still a sex differential in delinquent behaviour when parental supervision is controlled for. In addition, Harris (1977, p.6) argues that opportunity theory does not account for the relatively low rate of female violent offending in the home, where opportunities are not restricted. Other factors, of a more 'cultural' type, must therefore be invoked to explain part of the sex differential.

(c) Cultural factors may be said to represent internalised norms (e.g., the wish to stay at home or to join adult-supervised groups). Cultural explanations of the sex differential in criminality are based on the premise that females are socialised in such a way that they are less motivated to engage in criminal behaviour. The masculine sex role, rather than biological maleness, is often presumed to be responsible for criminality. Females are socialised to be passive and dependent,

while males are socialised to be aggressive and assertive. Therefore, it is often argued, aggression and assertiveness and other 'masculine' traits are criminogenic, while passivity and dependence, and other 'feminine' traits, are not.

The experimental evidence is inconclusive with respect to direct links between the masculine sex role and delinquent behaviour. Cullen et al (1979, p.301) and McCord and Otten (1983, p.3), found some support for the 'masculinity hypothesis'. However, Shover et al (1979, p.169) found the masculine sex role to be not directly related to delinquency in either sex. Norland et al (1981, p.421) got the same result, except that they found the masculine sex role to be directed related to status offences, but in males only. Thornton & James (1979, p.231) found that a sex difference in criminality remains after the masculine sex role is controlled for. And Widom (1979, p.376) found criminality to be unrelated to 'masculinity' in her female sample.

The experimental evidence is also tenuous in relation to indirect links between the masculine sex role and delinquency. Thornton & James (1979, p.235) and Norland et al (1981, p.427) found a positive indirect relationship between the masculine sex role and delinquency, through certain social control variables. However, Shover et al (1979, p.169) found the masculine sex role to be virtually unrelated to social control variables.

Others have found links between socialisation practices and delinquency apart from through sex roles. For example, Sarri (1983, p.388) found parental disapproval of delinquent behaviour to be negatively related to delinquency, and Richards & Tittle (1981, p.1196) found that girls perceive a higher chance of arrest, for reasons presumably related to early childhood training, and therefore may be deterred more often than boys from engaging in delinquent behaviour.

It would appear from the experimental evidence that the links between socialisation and delinquency are far from clear. Seeking those links through present conceptualisations of the masculine sex role seems to be particularly unhelpful. The links may well prove to be far more subtle and complex than many writers have envisaged in the past. Shover & Norland (1978, pp.111,117) review past research on sex roles and links with criminality, and criticise 'non-rational sexist assumptions' and tautological thinking underlying much of this work. And Naffin (1981, p.89) summarises the present position thus :

"Role theory, in its present form, is useful to the extent that it attempts to study the female delinquent in her (social) environment. It fails, however, in its refusal to recognise the complexity and dynamics of the process by which roles are acquired, and situate them in a social or economic context."

Is female crime rising faster than male crime, and if so, is 'emancipation' responsible?

The idea that emancipation is criminogenic is not a new one. The suspicion has been expressed by many social scientists investigating female criminality - from Morrison in 1891 to Mukherjee in 1983. However, when the notion surfaced again the 1970s, it came from an unexpected source - from two feminists.

In 1975, Freda Adler, an American criminologist, published Sisters in Crime: the Rise of the New Female Criminal, a high-spirited book celebrating the upsurge in the modern women's movement of the sixties and seventies, and claiming, as one of its early achievements, a female crime wave. Women, according to Adler, would no longer be held back in either legal or illegal fields of endeavour. They would no more limit their criminal horizons to shoplifting and passing bad

cheques. They were going on, she seemed to be saying, to 'bigger and better' crimes, such as burglary and even armed robbery (Adler 1975,p.15).

Adler supported her belief that female criminal behaviour had already changed by comparing percentage increases of female and male arrests for several types of offence. She found, for example, that female robbery arrests increased by 277% between 1960 and 1972, while male arrests increased by only 169% in that period (Adler 1975, p.16). Adler found similar trends for various property offences, and interpreted these percentage increases to mean that female crime is rising faster than male crime, and that females are 'catching up' to males in these offences. Adler's data base consisted of the Uniform Crime Reports compiled by the FBI ('UCRs').

Rita Simon, another American criminologist, published Women and Crime, also in 1975. She argued that increased participation in the labour force (which she attributed to the influence of the women's movement) provides women with more opportunities to commit certain types of offence, e.g. larceny, fraud, embezzlement, and other white collar crimes (Simon 1975b, p.19).

Like Adler, Simon found support for her hypothesis in the UCRs, but instead of using percentage increases as Adler did, she used the changing female contribution towards the combined female and male rate¹. Simon found that significant proportional increases were limited to larceny/theft, embezzlement, fraud, forgery and counterfeiting. She interpreted these proportional increases as evidence that, in these particular offence categories (which she regarded as employment-related)

¹ 'Percent female contributions' or 'female proportions' (usually expressed as '%FCs') are derived from the same data and give the same information as the sex ratio. If the sex ratio for a particular offence is, say, 5 males to 1 female, the female contribution towards the combined female and male rates (5 + 1) is one-sixth, and in percentage terms (the %FC), this is 16.6%.

the female rate was rising faster than the male rate (Simon 1975b, p.46). Also like Adler, Simon linked her hypothesis to the women's movement, finding that proportional increases in female involvement in theft, fraud and forgery were especially marked between 1967 (when the United States National Organisation of Women was formed) and 1972.

Adler's perspective is closely related to the 'cultural' explanation of sex differences in criminality, while Simon's fits squarely into the 'structural' explanation. Adler claims that women are ceasing to feel bound by stereotyped notions of femininity, while Simon claims that they are no longer denied the opportunities to enter other realms of experience.

Although the claims of both writers stay within accepted paradigms, they become contentious at the point where they both identify large relative increases in female criminality, and seek to link these with the modern women's movement of the late 1960s. The concern of other feminists and liberals has been aroused firstly by the glib and probably spurious attribution of causality to the women's movement, and secondly, by the possibility of a reactionary backlash against the struggle for equality if it is believed that emancipation makes women 'turn to crime'. Simon's method for measuring relative increases in crime rates has, however, been widely accepted, and consequently, so too has her claim that the female rate for certain property offences is rising faster than the male rate.

In view of the central importance of the work of Adler and Simon to the 'emancipation debate', the claims of each are now discussed in greater detail.

(a) Adler and motivational changes

Adler's book has aroused more controversy than Simon's, both for her assertions regarding the women's movement, and for the methods she

uses for measuring changes in female criminality over time.

Several writers have criticised Adler for referring to the 'masculinising' influence of the women's movement, implying that female criminality is increasing as a result of the 'masculinisation' of female behaviour (Weis 1976, p.18; Smart 1976, p.71). In addition, Smart (1976, p.74) and Campbell (1981, p.57), among others, point out that the women's movement is essentially a middle class movement, and that delinquent girls tend to reject the ideology of women's liberation.

Some researchers have chosen to test the link between feminist motivation and criminality directly, by measuring the attitudes of offenders and others to feminism. Widom (1979, p.372), Leventhal (1977, p.1181), McCord and Otten (1983, p.3), and James and Thornton (1980, p.230) all found no relationship between positive attitudes to feminism and criminality. These consistently negative results failed to surprise many people, because few expected any possible link between feminism and criminality to be so direct.

Adler's method of measuring increases in female criminality relative to male criminality was very quickly discredited. Adler would measure the percentage increase of an offence by females over a certain time period, and compare this with the percentage increase of the same offence by males. If the female percentage increase was greater, it was concluded that the female rate was rising faster than the male rate. Smart (1979, p.53) shows that when the base rate of two groups differ at the start of the time period, then increases in the group with the lower base rate become very exaggerated. Using official British records, Smart shows that there had been a 500% increase in female murder convictions between 1965 and 1975. This sounds alarming, but in fact the absolute figure in 1965 was one, and by 1975 it had risen to five. Smart does not give the absolute figures

for males, unfortunately, but to illustrate the point, say male murders had also risen by four, from, say, 50 to 54. This does not amount to even a 10% increase. Adler compounded the weakness of her method by using raw figures instead of rates, so that increases over time became further exaggerated by the confounding influence of population size increases.

(b) Simon and changes in opportunity

Simon's claims regarding the link between the modern women's movement and female criminality are vulnerable to criticism on three main grounds: her claims that certain female crimes are rising faster than their male equivalents; that these alleged relative increases are employment-related; and that the number of women in the paid labour force can be attributed to the women's movement.

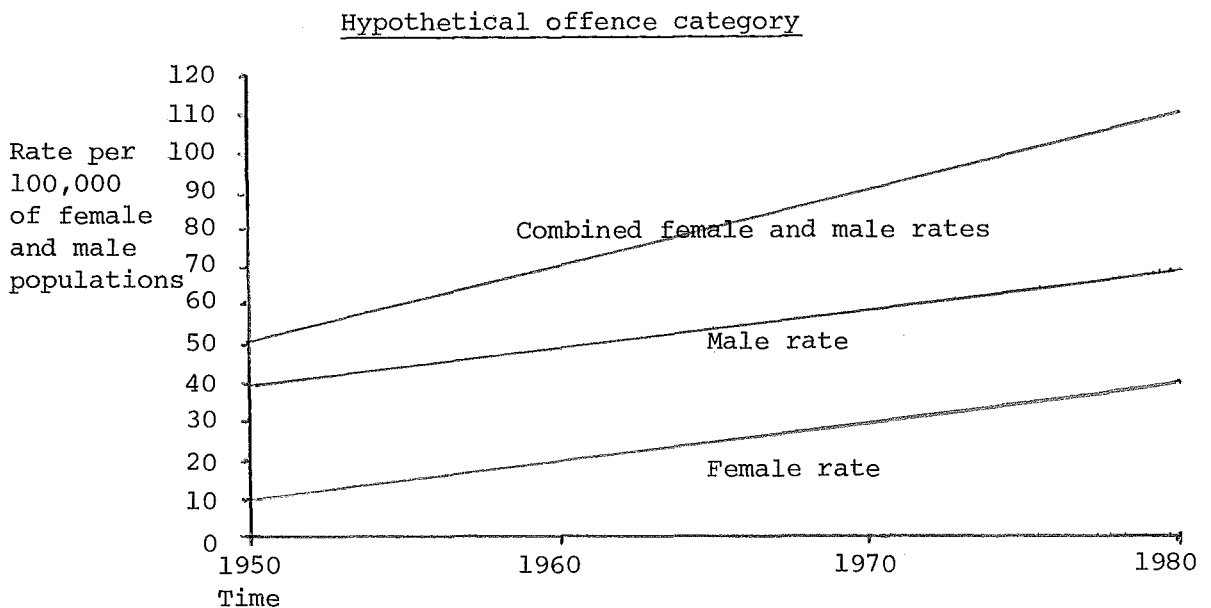
(i) Relative increases in certain offences by females

There is no doubt that, for females, there have been large proportional increases in certain property offences (see Tables 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6 on pages 30,31,32). When the %FC for an offence is rising, it is usually assumed that the female rate is rising faster than the male rate, and writers often refer to the 'converging' female and male rates, or state that females are 'catching up' to males (e.g. Adler 1977, p.111; Datesman, Scarpitti & Stephenson 1975, p.109; Denmark & Rutschmann-Jaffe 1979, p.52; Simon & Sharma 1979, p.393; Smith & Visser 1980, p.697; and Wilson 1981, p.112).

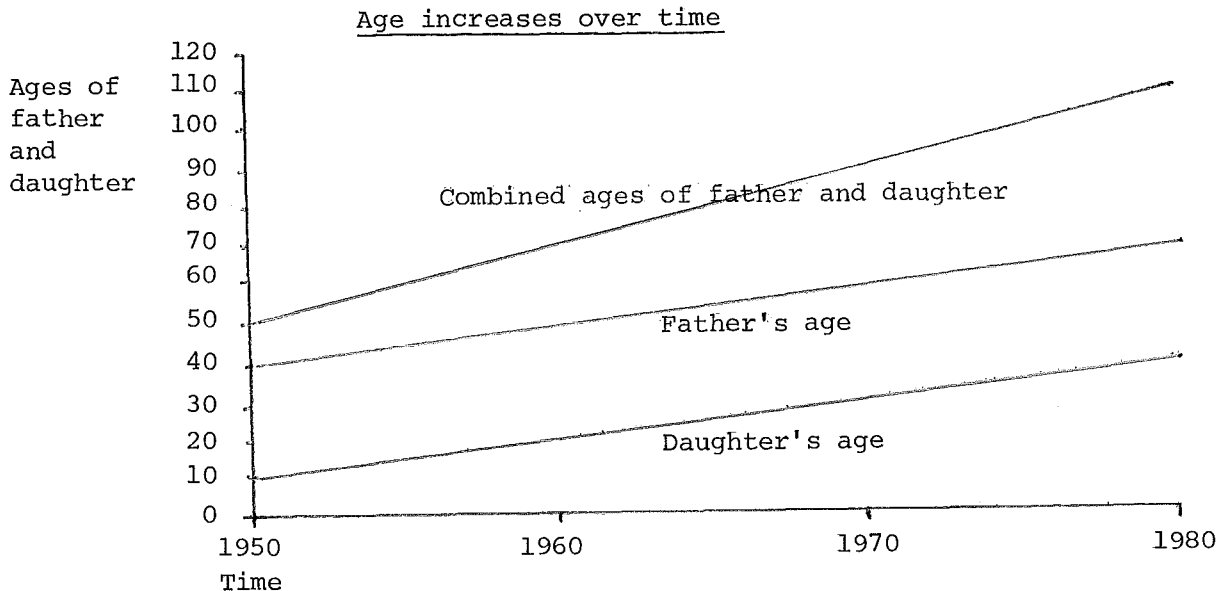
While this assumption appears to follow from the rising %FCs, it is not necessarily the case. By 1980, Steffensmeier (1980a) had noticed that absolute differences between the female and male rates may remain constant or even increase while %FCs are also rising. Is it correct, then, in such cases, to say that the female

rate is 'rising faster' than the male rate? This interpretation is still widely accepted (e.g. Simon 1975b, p.46; Challinger 1982, p.125; and - although with reservations now - Steffensmeier 1980a, p.1085; and Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980, p.63). But this interpretation can readily be shown to be incorrect, and that the rising %FC is very often simply an artifact of an increase in the combined female and male rates over time.

In the following graph, the female rate for a hypothetical offence category increases from 10 to 40 per 100,000 between 1950 and 1980, while the male rate increases from 40 to 70. The combined female and male rates rise from 50 to 110. In 1950, the female contribution towards the combined rate (the %FC) is 20%, and by 1980 it has risen to 36%, while the absolute difference has remained constant. The conventional interpretation of a situation like this (which is quite common) is that the female rate is rising relative to the male rate, and that the female rate is rising considerably faster than the male rate.



But consideration of the next graph casts doubt on this interpretation. The graph shows the change in ages of a father and daughter over time. The daughter's age increases from 10 to 40 between 1950 and 1980, while her father's age increases from 40 to 70. Their combined ages rise from 50 to 110. In 1950, the daughter's proportion of the combined rate (the %FC) is 20%, and by 1980 it has risen to 36%, while the absolute difference has remained constant. Nobody would claim that the daughter's age is rising faster than her father's age, however.



These two graphs are, of course, identical, except for the name of the dependent variable. Therefore, if it is incorrect to infer that the daughter's age is increasing faster than her father's age, it must surely be equally incorrect to infer that the female crime rate is rising faster than the male crime rate. In each case, the increasing %FC is simply a function of an increase in the combined female and male numbers over time.

Consequently, it must be concluded that an increase in the female contribution towards a combined female and male offence

rate does not necessarily indicate that the female rate is rising faster than, or relative to, the male rate. And as Simon uses only %FCs as evidence of a relative female increase, her claim cannot be substantiated.

(ii) Employment-related offences

Simon interprets the offences where %FCs have risen substantially as employment-related - i.e. larceny/theft, embezzlement, fraud and forgery. Embezzlement is by definition employment-related, but the other offences also include shoplifting, credit card fraud and passing bad cheques.

While Simon asserts (but cannot prove) that large increases in female theft, fraud and forgery are due to increases in workplace offences, others dispute this, and interpret them as increases in areas of traditionally high female offending - e.g. shoplifting and passing bad cheques. Weis (1976, p.19) cites a study of shoplifting by Mary Cameron in 1964, in which she estimated that 80% of larceny arrests are for shoplifting; and a study of fraud and forgery by Lemert (1971), who estimated that 75% of forgery arrests are for 'naive cheque forgery'. Steffensmeier & Kramer (1979, p.763) and Challinger (1982, p.127) agree that increases in theft, fraud, and forgery reflect increases in traditional female crime trends. In both cases, the writers had access to data separating shoplifting from other forms of larceny and theft, and showing that juvenile larceny arrests excluding shoplifting have remained at a low level, while shoplifting arrests have increased markedly.

With regard to embezzlement, it is apparent from Table 2.2 on p.28 that both female and male embezzlement rates have declined over time. Therefore, female embezzlement cannot be said to be

'outstripping' male embezzlement. While the female contribution towards the embezzlement rate has increased, as Simon claims (see Table 2.5 on p.31), this results from the male decline outstripping the female decline. The inadvisability of relying on rising %FCs to identify relative rises in female criminality is further highlighted by this example.

On the basis that relative increases in female crime seem limited to sex-role related property offences, some writers argue that females appear to occupy much the same positions in both the 'straight' and criminal worlds (Weis 1976, p.24; Klein & Kress 1976, p.41; Steffensmeier 1978, p.580; and 1980a, p.1101).

"Women are no more violent today than a decade ago, and the increase in property offences suggests that the sexism which still pervades the straight world also functions in the illegal marketplace. For example, increases in larceny, embezzlement (sic), and fraud reflect sex-determined opportunities to commit these kinds of crimes ..."

(Weis 1976, p.24).

(iii) Women in the paid labour force

Smart (1976, p.74) argues that the entry of large numbers of women into the paid labour force has not been due to the efforts of the women's movement, but that women have always formed a large reserve pool of labour, to be taken on and put off as national crises (e.g. World War II) or economic systems demand. Others (e.g. Weis 1976, p.25; Rans 1978, p.47; Smart 1979, p.57; and Chapman 1980, p.63) adopt an 'economic imperative' approach and argue that the women being caught by the justice system are still the poor, the under-educated and unemployed, and that if there is any link between labour force participation and criminality, it is more likely to be because females are both seeking employment and/or

committing economic crimes, because of economic pressure or necessity. In light of these arguments, and in view of the lack of evidence to support Simon's position, her belief that increases in the female paid labour force result from the influence of the women's movement must also be regarded as unsubstantiated.

(c) Beyond Adler and Simon

Both Adler and Simon invoked the influence of the modern women's movement to explain a perceived change in the traditional relationship between the sexes with regard to levels of criminal behaviour. However, in each case, the method chosen to demonstrate this change has been found to be unreliable for that purpose. In fact, American Uniform Crime Report data show (see p.26) that converging female and male crime rates are limited to adult forgery, juvenile theft, juvenile status offences, and possibly adult and juvenile car conversion. An explanation as general as 'women's emancipation' therefore seems quite unwarranted.

(i) Other tests of the emancipation hypothesis

Since 1975, there have been a few attempts to test the 'emancipation hypothesis', some based on the doubtful assumption that there has been a change in female behaviour requiring explanation at such a level. These studies rely on establishing a relationship between female offence rates and certain 'conventional' measures of emancipation, such as female labour force participation (Austin 1982; Fox & Hartnagel 1979; Box & Hale 1983); the divorce rate (Austin 1982); advances in female tertiary education and the declining fertility rate (Fox & Hartnagel 1979; Box & Hale 1983); and the number of 'unattached' (single/divorced/widowed) women in the population (Box & Hale 1983). These three studies yield inconclusive and unconvincing results.

Using multiple regression analysis and comparing the partial regression coefficients for each measure of emancipation (which means that the effects of the other measures are held constant), Fox & Hartnagel (1979, p.102) found that female labour force participation, tertiary education and the declining fertility rate are associated with female crime levels. Box & Hale (1983, p.43), however, found no significant relationships. Austin (1982) simply examined graphs of female offence rates and the 'emancipation variables' to see if 'take-off points' could be found after 1967 (the year that the National Organisation of Women was founded in the United States).

(ii) Declining chivalry towards females in the justice system has been advanced as an alternative explanation for converging crime rates. Some writers argue that, when relevant factors besides chivalry are taken into account (e.g., previous convictions, type and seriousness of offence, etc.), the question of chivalry is not clear cut (Scutt 1979, pp.4-5; Feyerherm 1981, p.52; Hancock & Chesney-Lind 1982, p.109; Fielding 1977, p.170; and Smart 1977, p.97). However, there is a widespread conviction that females are treated more leniently than males for criminal (not status) offences, and that this is reflected in official records (Wattenburg & Saunders 1954, p.25; d'Orban 1972, p.30; Campbell 1977, p.172; Steffensmeier 1980b, p.349; Warner 1982, p.261).

Several others also acknowledge the existence of chivalry, but argue that chivalry towards females by the justice system is declining. In particular, they argue that the modern women's movement has changed not so much the behaviour of females, but more the perceptions of females by police and justice officials, so that females are being arrested more often for similar

behaviour (Leventhal 1977, p.1181; Smart 1979, p.58; Sarri 1983, p.381; Steffensmeier 1980a, p.1099; and Box & Hale 1983, p.43). Even Rita Simon concedes (1975a, p.48) that declining chivalry may be partly responsible for relative increases in female arrests.

Declining chivalry is plausible, but difficult to prove, without access to time-series police data on persons apprehended, and who of these are just cautioned and discharged, and who actually end up in Court. To date, access to such data has apparently not been possible.

Quantitative issues in female criminality

The quantitative literature on female criminality falls into two main categories, according to the type of data used: official crime statistics (e.g. court records, police records, penal institution records); and self-report data.

There is no doubt that self-report studies throw more light upon actual behaviour, even if they have tended to concentrate only on petty delinquency among schoolchildren. However, there have been no self-report studies conducted in New Zealand, incorporating both sexes, and in any case, the major aim of this study is to examine serious crime at all ages. This leaves only official data.

The descriptive statistics generally considered the most salient for making between-sex comparisons are : (i) rates per 100,000 of the relevant populations; (ii) the female contribution towards an overall offence rate (the %FC); (iii) the absolute difference between female and male offence rates (the AD); and (iv) offence profiles, where the offences of each sex are ranked in order of their prevalence. These statistics are used where sufficient information exists to describe sex differences in the whole population and between majority and

minority ethnic groups. Age data, however, are examined only to discover the peak offending age for each sex.

(a) Whole population

(i) Rates

There is little completely suitable information in the literature on offence rates for females and males. Several studies use raw figures instead of rates (Fielding 1977; Omodei 1979; Kraus 1973; Adler 1975; Simon 1975b; and Steffensmeier & Kramer 1979); several more use rates but either collapse all offences together into one enormous and almost meaningless category, or divide them into only 'violent' and 'property' offence categories (Smart 1979; Maxim & Jocklin 1980; Noblit & Burcart 1976; Rans 1978; d'Orban 1972; Mukherjee & Fitzgerald 1981; and Challinger 1982); and several include both adults and juveniles together, so that the two age groups cannot be compared (Hill & Harris 1981; Challinger 1982; Steffensmeier, Steffensmeier & Rosenthal 1979; Steffensmeier 1978; Rans 1978; Smart 1979; and Mukherjee & Fitzgerald 1981). Only two studies have avoided all of these drawbacks (Steffensmeier 1980a; and Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980). As all other American studies use the same data base (the UCRs), these two studies are adequate for an examination of the American data (although other studies cover a longer time period), but it is unfortunate that no British, Canadian or Australian data are as comprehensive.

Tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3, then, show female and male rates for various violent, property and victimless offences, for adults and juveniles, at the beginning and end of the period surveyed. The most important points to be taken from these tables are :

- (1) In all offences apart from prostitution and running away

from home, male rates outnumber female rates by a considerable margin;

(2) While murder and manslaughter rates are relatively low for both sexes, assault and robbery rates are as prevalent as most property offences. Theft is by far the most prevalent offence for both sexes, and both age groups; and

(3) Violent offences are more prevalent among adults, with the exception of robbery, while property offences are more prevalent among juveniles, with the exception of embezzlement, fraud and forgery.

(ii) Percent female contributions (%FCs)

%FCs show the female crime rate relative to the overall crime rate: the proportion of an offence rate attributable to females. %FCs have been used both to ascertain the level of involvement of females in a particular offence, relative to males, and also to assess the relative rate of increase for both sexes. If the %FC changes over time, it has usually been assumed that the female rate is increasing faster than the male rate.

Tables 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6 show the %FCs for violent, property and victimless offences. There are certain offences where the %FC is relatively high. For some (murder, aggravated assault), this results from a relatively low male rate, while for others (theft, fraud, forgery, drugs and liquor), the rates are relatively high for both sexes. A 'high' %FC is generally between 15-35%. Only in prostitution and some status offences is the %FC over 50%.

There is a general tendency for %FCs to increase over time. Where female involvement is traditionally low, %FC increases are small. And where female involvement is traditionally high, %FC increases are also high. As discussed on pp.17-18, however, %FC

increases alone can no longer be regarded as evidence that female offence rates are rising faster than male offence rates. In addition, it would appear that the relative sizes of the %FC increases are functions of the original level of involvement.

(iii) Absolute differences (ADs)

In light of the arguments on pp.17-18, ADs provide a more reliable method for assessing whether the offence rate of one sex is rising faster than the other. On this basis, Tables 2.7, 2.8 and 2.9 show that, in general, male crime is still rising faster than female crime. Decreasing ADs (that is, real convergence) occur in only 8 out of 32 instances. Only in adult forgery and juvenile theft and status offences is the convergence attributable solely to an increase in the female rate. In adult and juvenile conversion, convergence results primarily from a decrease in the male rate. And the other three instances of convergence appear to result from falling male and female rates, where the male rate would seem to have fallen more sharply than the female rate.

Therefore, while the %FC tables show a general tendency for female contributions to rise (and sex ratios to fall), the AD tables show that female crime is rising faster than male crime only in adult forgery and juvenile theft and status offences. In most other offence categories, male crime is still rising faster than female crime.

(iv) Offence profiles

Offence profiles are used to assess whether female and male criminality differ in kind as well as in degree. Substantial qualitative differences would suggest the possibility that different social forces are influencing the behaviour of each sex. Conversely, profile similarity would tend to suggest that the

TABLE 2.1. - OFFENCE RATES: VIOLENT OFFENCES

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION OF OFFENCE</u>	<u>RATES PER 100,000</u>				<u>PERIOD SPAN</u>
		<u>START OF PERIOD</u>		<u>END OF PERIOD</u>		
		<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	
<u>(1) ADULT</u>						
<u>Murder</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Murder	3.8	16.9	4.3	24.6	1965-1977
Steffensmeier 1980a	Negligent manslaughter	0.6	5.5	0.5	4 3	"
<u>Assault</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Aggravated assault	31.2	195.3	41.6	302.9	"
Steffensmeier 1980a	Assaults other	50.8	490.0	70.1	521.9	"
<u>Robbery</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Robbery	5.4	96.9	11.5	146.5	"
<u>(2) JUVENILE</u>						
<u>Murder</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Murder	0.4	6.0	1.0	10.6	"
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Negligent manslaughter	0.2	1.6	0.4	1.8	"
<u>Assault</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Aggravated assault	17.8	119.0	38.3	210.7	"
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Assaults other	53.4	275.2	111.0	409.2	"
<u>Robbery</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Robbery	6.8	140.2	20.3	252.8	"

TABLE 2.2. - OFFENCE RATES: PROPERTY OFFENCES

OFFENCE CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION OF OFFENCE	RATES PER 100,000				PERIOD SPAN
		START OF PERIOD		END OF PERIOD		
		Female	Male	Female	Male	
(1) ADULT						
<u>Theft</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Larceny-theft	135.6	401.9	358.5	704.9	1965-1977
Steffensmeier 1980a	Embezzlement	3.9	19.2	2.4	8.2	"
<u>Fraud</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Fraud	28.9	117.3	122.7	216.2	"
<u>Forgery</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Forgery	15.1	69.3	30.6	75.5	"
<u>Burglary</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Burglary	11.4	283.3	24.1	383.3	"
<u>Receiving</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Stolen property	3.2	34.5	14.8	115.0	"
<u>Damage</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Vandalism	6.0	8.4	13.7	129.8	"
<u>Conversion</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Auto theft	4.5	115.5	8.1	110.9	"
(2) JUVENILE						
<u>Theft</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Larceny-theft	434.4	1713.0	861.1	2099.6	"
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Embezzlement	0.5	2.5	1.2	4.1	"
<u>Fraud</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Fraud	3.3	15.0	33.7	123.4	"
<u>Forgery</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Forgery	6.3	23.7	17.1	41.5	"
<u>Burglary</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Burglary	36.8	983.0	96.4	1478.2	"
<u>Receiving</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Stolen property	4.4	62.3	20.8	211.8	"
<u>Damage</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Vandalism	33.9	637.1	62.4	737.4	"
<u>Conversion</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Auto theft	29.1	620.7	45.6	442.0	"

TABLE 2.3. - OFFENCE RATES: VICTIMLESS OFFENCES

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION OF OFFENCE</u>	<u>RATES PER 100,000</u>				<u>PERIOD SPAN</u>
		<u>START OF PERIOD</u>		<u>END OF PERIOD</u>		
		<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	
<u>(1) ADULT</u>						
<u>Drugs</u> Steffensmeier 1980a	Narcotic drugs	17.7	117.3	101.9	700.1	1965-1977
<u>Prostitution</u> Steffensmeier 1980a	Prostitution	84.3	25.3	96.4	41.3	"
<u>(2) JUVENILE</u>						
<u>Drugs</u> Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Narcotic drugs	6.8	48.8	150.7	742.7	"
<u>Prostitution</u> Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Prostitution	7.0	2.5	16.2	7.2	"
<u>Status offences</u> Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Runaways	443.7	466.1	745.1	524.3	"
<u>Liquor laws</u> Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Liquor laws	65.7	411.0	179.8	629.3	"

TABLE 2.4. - PERCENT FEMALE CONTRIBUTIONS (%FCs): VIOLENT OFFENCES

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION OF OFFENCE</u>	<u>%FCs</u>		<u>PERIOD SPAN</u>
		<u>START OF PERIOD</u>	<u>END OF PERIOD</u>	
<u>(1) ADULT</u>				
<u>Murder</u>				
Wilson 1981	Murder	18.2	15.3	1960-1978
Wilson 1981	Manslaughter	10.4	10.6	1960-1977
Steffensmeier 1980a	Murder	18.4	14.9	1965-1977
Steffensmeier 1980a	Negligent manslaughter	9.8	10.4	1965-1977
<u>Assault</u>				
Wilson 1981	Aggravated assault	15.3	12.3	1960-1978
Wilson 1981	Assault	9.4	12.4	1960-1978
Steffensmeier 1980a	Aggrayated assault	13.8	12.1	1965-1977
Steffensmeier 1980a	Assault	9.4	11.8	1965-1977
<u>Robbery</u>				
Steffensmeier 1980a	Robbery	5.3	7.3	1965-1977
<u>(2) JUVENILE</u>				
<u>Murder</u>				
Wilson 1981	Murder	7.8	11.1	1960-1978
Wilson 1981	Manslaughter	6.5	15.3	1960-1977
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Murder	6.3	8.6	1965-1977
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Negligent manslaughter	11.1	18.2	1965-1977
<u>Assault</u>				
Wilson 1981	Aggravated assault	10.7	14.7	1960-1978
Wilson 1981	Assault	14.7	20.2	1960-1978
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Aggravated assault	13.0	15.4	1965-1977
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Assault other	16.3	21.3	1965-1977
<u>Robbery</u>				
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Robbery	4.6	7.4	1965-1977

TABLE 2.5. - PERCENT FEMALE CONTRIBUTIONS (%FCs): PROPERTY OFFENCES

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION OF OFFENCE</u>	<u>%FCs</u>		<u>PERIOD SPAN</u>
		<u>START OF PERIOD</u>	<u>END OF PERIOD</u>	
<u>(1) ADULT</u>				
<u>Theft</u>				
Steffensmeier 1980a	Larceny-theft	25.2	33.7	1965-1977
Steffensmeier 1980a	Embezzlement	16.9	22.6	"
<u>Fraud</u>				
Steffensmeier 1980a	Fraud	19.8	36.2	"
<u>Forgery</u>				
Steffensmeier 1980a	Forgery	17.9	28.8	"
<u>Burglary</u>				
Steffensmeier 1980a	Burglary	3.9	5.9	"
<u>Receiving</u>				
Steffensmeier 1980a	Stolen property	8.5	11.4	"
<u>Damage</u>				
Steffensmeier 1980a	Vandalism	9.3	9.3	"
<u>Conversion</u>				
Steffensmeier 1980a	Auto theft	3.8	6.8	"
<u>(2) JUVENILE</u>				
<u>Theft</u>				
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Larceny-theft	20.2	29.1	1965-1977
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Embezzlement	16.7	22.6	"
<u>Fraud</u>				
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Fraud	18.0	21.5	"
<u>Forgery</u>				
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Forgery	21.0	29.2	"
<u>Burglary</u>				
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Burglary	3.6	6.1	"
<u>Receiving</u>				
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Receiving	6.6	8.8	"
<u>Damage</u>				
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Vandalism	5.1	7.8	"
<u>Conversion</u>				
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Auto theft	4.5	9.4	"

TABLE 2.6. - PERCENT FEMALE CONTRIBUTIONS (%FCs): VICTIMLESS OFFENCES

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION OF OFFENCE</u>	<u>%FCs</u>	<u>START OF PERIOD</u>	<u>END OF PERIOD</u>	<u>PERIOD SPAN</u>
<u>(1) ADULT</u>					
<u>Drugs</u>					
Steffensmeier 1980a	Narcotic drugs	13.1	12.7		1965-1977
<u>Prostitution</u>					
Steffensmeier 1980a	Prostitution	76.9	70.0		"
<u>2) JUVENILE</u>					
<u>Drugs</u>					
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Narcotic drugs	12.2	16.9		"
<u>Status Offences</u>					
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Runaways	48.8	58.7		"
<u>Prostitution</u>					
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Prostitution	73.3	69.2		"
<u>Liquor laws</u>					
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Liquor laws	13.8	22.2		"

TABLE 2.7. - ABSOLUTE DIFFERENCES (ADs): VIOLENT OFFENCES

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION OF OFFENCE</u>	<u>ABSOLUTE DIFFERENCES</u>	<u>PERIOD SPAN</u>
<u>(1) ADULT</u>			
<u>Murder</u> Steffensmeier 1980a Steffensmeier 1980a	Murder Negligent manslaughter	Increasing <u>Decreasing</u>	1965-1977 "
<u>Assault</u> Steffensmeier 1980a Steffensmeier 1980a	Aggravated assault Assaults other	Increasing Increasing	" "
<u>Robbery</u> Steffensmeier 1980a	Robbery	Increasing	"
<u>(2) JUVENILE</u>			
<u>Murder</u> Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980 Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Murder Negligent manslaughter	Increasing <u>Unchanged</u>	" "
<u>Assault</u> Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980 Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Aggravated assault Assaults other	Increasing Increasing	" "
<u>Robbery</u> Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Robbery	Increasing	"

TABLE 2.8. - ABSOLUTE DIFFERENCES (ADs): PROPERTY OFFENCES

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION OF OFFENCE</u>	<u>ABSOLUTE DIFFERENCES</u>	<u>PERIOD SPAN</u>
<u>(1) ADULT</u>			
<u>Theft</u>			
Steffensmeier 1980a	Larceny-theft	Increasing	1965-1977
Steffensmeier 1980a	Embezzlement	<u>Decreasing</u>	
<u>Fraud</u>			
Steffensmeier 1980a	Fraud	Increasing	"
<u>Forgery</u>			
Steffensmeier 1980a	Forgery	<u>Decreasing</u>	"
<u>Burglary</u>			
Steffensmeier 1980a	Burglary	Increasing	"
<u>Receiving</u>			
Steffensmeier 1980a	Stolen property	Increasing	"
<u>Damage</u>			
Steffensmeier 1980a	Vandalism	Increasing	"
<u>Conversion</u>			
Steffensmeier 1980a	Auto theft	<u>Decreasing</u>	"
<u>(2) JUVENILE</u>			
<u>Theft</u>			
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Larceny-theft	<u>Decreasing</u>	"
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Embezzlement	Increasing	"
<u>Fraud</u>			
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Fraud	Increasing	"
<u>Forgery</u>			
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Forgery	Increasing	"
<u>Burglary</u>			
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Burglary	Increasing	"
<u>Receiving</u>			
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Stolen property	Increasing	"
<u>Damage</u>			
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Vandalism	Increasing	"
<u>Conversion</u>			
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Auto theft	<u>Decreasing</u>	"

TABLE 2.9. - ABSOLUTE DIFFERENCES (ADs): VICTIMLESS OFFENCES

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION OF OFFENCE</u>	<u>ABSOLUTE DIFFERENCES</u>	<u>PERIOD SPAN</u>
<u>(1) ADULT</u>			
<u>Drugs</u> Steffensmeier 1980a	Narcotic drugs	Increasing	1965-1977
<u>Prostitution</u> Steffensmeier 1980a	Prostitution	<u>Decreasing</u>	"
<u>(2) JUVENILE</u>			
<u>Drugs</u> Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Narcotic drugs	Increasing	"
<u>Status offences</u> Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Runaways	<u>Decreasing</u>	"
<u>Prostitution</u> Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Prostitution	Increasing	"
<u>Liquor laws</u> Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Liquor laws	Increasing	"

TABLE 2.10. - OFFENCE PROFILES: VIOLENT OFFENCES

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>		<u>DESCRIPTION OF OFFENCE</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OFFENCE RATE</u>		<u>PERIOD SPAN</u>	
			<u>START OF PERIOD</u>	<u>END OF PERIOD</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
			<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
<u>(1) ADULT</u>						
<u>Murder</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Murder	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	1965-1977
Steffensmeier 1980a	Negligent manslaughter	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.04	"
<u>Assault</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Aggravated assault	2.4	1.7	2.4	2.8	"
Steffensmeier 1980a	Assault	4.0	4.4	4.1	4.8	"
<u>Robbery</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Robbery	0.4	0.9	0.7	1.3	"
<u>(2) JUVENILE</u>						
<u>Murder</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Murder	0.02	0.1	0.03	0.1	1965-1977
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Negligent manslaughter	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	"
Steffensmeier & Kramer 1979	Murder/ manslaughter	0.1	0.6	0.0	0.1	1970-1976
<u>Assault</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Aggravated assault	0.9	1.3	1.2	1.8	1965-1977
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Assaults other	2.8	3.1	3.4	3.6	"
Steffensmeier & Kramer 1979	Assault	11.2	13.6	15.2	15.9	1970-1976
<u>Robbery</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Robbery	0.4	1.6	0.6	2.2	1965-1977
Steffensmeier & Kramer 1979	Robbery	1.2	6.9	1.6	7.5	1970-1976

TABLE 2.11. - OFFENCE PROFILES: PROPERTY OFFENCES

OFFENCE CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION OF OFFENCE	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OFFENCE RATE				PERIOD SPAN
		START OF PERIOD		END OF PERIOD		
		Female	Male	Female	Male	
(1) ADULT						
Theft						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Larceny-theft	10.6	3.6	20.4	6.5	1965-1977
Steffensmeier 1980a	Embezzlement	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	"
Fraud						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Fraud	2.3	1.0	7.0	2.0	"
Forgery						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Forgery	1.2	0.6	1.7	0.7	"
Burglary						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Burglary	0.9	2.5	1.4	3.5	"
Receiving						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Stolen property	0.3	0.3	0.8	1.1	"
Damage						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Vandalism	0.5	0.6	0.5	1.3	"
Conversion						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Auto theft	0.4	1.0	0.5	1.0	"
(2) JUVENILE						
Theft						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Larceny-theft	23.1	19.2	26.4	18.3	1965-1977
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Embezzlement	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04	"
Steffensmeier & Kramer 1979	Larceny	2.2	8.1	6.2	15.2	1970-1976
Steffensmeier & Kramer 1979	Shoplifting	13.7	3.0	13.4	3.5	"
Fraud						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Fraud	0.2	0.2	1.0	1.1	1965-1977
Forgery						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Forgery	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.4	"
Burglary						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Burglary	2.0	11.0	3.0	12.9	"
Steffensmeier & Kramer 1979	Burglary	2.6	17.8	3.6	21.9	1970-1976
Receiving						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Stolen property	0.2	0.7	0.6	1.8	1965-1977
Damage						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Vandalism	1.8	7.1	1.9	6.4	"
Steffensmeier & Kramer 1979	Vandalism	2.7	6.6	2.7	4.8	1970-1976
Conversion						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Auto theft	1.5	7.0	1.4	3.9	1965-1977
Steffensmeier & Kramer 1979	Auto theft	2.0	11.5	2.0	6.9	1970-1976

TABLE 2.12. - OFFENCE PROFILES: VICTIMLESS OFFENCES

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION OF OFFENCE</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OFFENCE RATE</u>				<u>PERIOD SPAN</u>
		<u>START OF PERIOD</u>	<u>END OF PERIOD</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	
		<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	
<u>(1) ADULT</u>						
<u>Drugs</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Narcotic drugs	1.4	1.0	5.8	6.4	1965-1977
<u>Prostitution</u>						
Steffensmeier 1980a	Prostitution	6.6	0.2	5.5	0.4	"
<u>(2) JUVENILE</u>						
<u>Drugs</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Narcotic drugs	0.4	0.5	4.6	6.5	1965-1977
Steffensmeier & Kramer 1979	Drugs	5.7	6.5	7.1	8.6	1970-1976
<u>Status Offences</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Runaways	23.6	5.2	22.9	4.6	1965-1977
Steffensmeier & Kramer 1979	Runaways, ungovernable, truancy	50.0	10.4	40.9	7.1	1970-1976
<u>Prostitution</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Prostitution	0.4	0.03	0.5	0.1	1965-1977
<u>Liquor laws</u>						
Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980	Liquor laws	3.5	4.6	5.5	5.5	"
Steffensmeier & Kramer 1979	Liquor laws	2.5	2.1	2.1	1.2	1970-1976

same social forces influence each sex, but at different levels of intensity.

Tables 2.10, 2.11 and 2.12 show the percentage that each offence comprises of the total offence rate or number of offences (depending on whether rates or raw data are used) committed by each sex, at the beginning and end of the period surveyed by each research team. (Ideally, all the percentages for each separate research team in each column should add up to 100%, but in most cases, some offences have been omitted because they do not appear to correspond reasonably well to the offence categories selected for analysis in this project.)

The tables show that, when offence rates (or raw figures) are converted to percentages of the total, the crime profiles of each sex are surprisingly similar. Dramatic differences in proportions are limited to theft for both adults and juveniles, and to burglary and status offences for juveniles. These results strongly support the view that differences in female and male criminality are differences in degree rather than in kind.

(b) Ethnic group comparison

Apart from %FCs, there is little quantitative information on ethnic background in the literature on female criminality.

Berger & Simon (1974, p.151), in a self-report study, found that the global %FC is smaller for American Blacks than for American Whites (25% and 33% respectively). On the other hand, Smith & Visher (1980, p.694) found higher %FCs for American Blacks than for Whites. Jensen & Eve (1976, p.434) found in a self-report study that there was very little difference in the %FCs of American Blacks and American Whites. And Steffensmeier & Kramer (1979, p.756) also found very little difference in the %FCs of American Blacks and Whites.

In summary, the small amount of information available on this topic is inconclusive.

(c) Peak offending age

There is a similar dearth of information on peak age of offending in the literature on female criminality. Of three studies located, only one (Weis 1976) provides a breakdown by type of offence. Weis (1976, p.20) administered his self-report questionnaire to high school students of the 8th and 11th grades (aged about 12 and 15 respectively). He found that, by the 11th grade, theft under \$50, shoplifting and vandalism had declined for both sexes, while theft over \$50 and illegal entry had risen for boys and fallen for girls. Marijuana use, on the other hand, had risen for both sexes.

Maxim & Jocklin (1980, pp.153-154), used official Canadian data from 1957 to 1973, on persons aged 18 and over, and found that the peak in offending for both sexes occurs in the 18-19 age group.

D'Orban (1972, p.32), using official statistics of convictions in England and Wales during 1969, on all ages from 10 to over 60, found that the male conviction rate peaks at ages 17 and 18, while the female rate, having far less dramatic increases, plateaus between the ages of 14 and 18, then begins to fall away again.

In summary, the above studies suggest that the mid to late teens are the peak offending ages for both sexes, with some offences peaking earlier (minor theft, vandalism, shoplifting), others peaking at a later age for boys (burglary, major thefts), and at least one (marijuana use) peaking at a later age for both sexes. It is noted, however, from Tables 2.1 and 2.2 (pp.27-28) that the peak age for most violent offences occurs after age 18, while the peak age for most property offences occurs before age 18. Property offences as a group greatly outnumber violent offences as a group, so this difference is

not picked up in the studies mentioned above, which collapse all offences into one global category.

New Zealand research on female criminality

The pattern of research into female crime in New Zealand is similar to that found overseas. There is very little research specifically dealing with female offending. The majority of the studies which do focus on female criminality deal with sentencing or prisons and are therefore outside the scope of this thesis (e.g., Pearson 1971; Roberts 1972; Hampton 1975; Marks 1975; Crutchley 1975; Bourke 1975; Hampton 1977; Hampton 1979; Jackson 1981; Saphira 1981; Coney 1982a and 1982b). Others are qualitative studies of nineteenth century female offenders (Robinson 1983; Macdonald 1977) and are also outside the scope of this project.

Of the remaining works, four relate specifically to female criminality: a short article (Wilson 1973); a thesis (Brown 1970); and a chapter in each of two books relating to New Zealand crime (New Zealand Department of Justice 1968; and Nixon 1974). The only other studies which refer to female offending are studies of New Zealand crime where females have not been excluded from consideration (Schumacher 1971; New Zealand Department of Social Welfare 1973; MacKenzie 1973; O'Connell 1975; Fifield & Donnell 1980; and Lovell & Stewart 1983).

(1) New Zealand qualitative research

Most New Zealand research dealing with these topics reflects earlier assumptions about female crime. Philipp (1946, p.35), for example, in one of her few references to female delinquency, states :

"Girls' delinquency, it is true, is very prone to take the form of sexual misbehaviour ..."

In the New Zealand Department of Justice chapter on female offending (1968, p.235), the writer considers that :

"The traits and environments that may lead a boy into crime may lead his sister into promiscuity, fecklessness or prostitution..."

The writer does acknowledge (p.235), however, that :

"...the law which is invoked against females, and particularly adolescent girls, is in many cases an attempt to regulate sexual behaviour by legal sanctions".

But then the writer goes on to invoke 'hormone activity' (adolescence, pre-menstrual, menstrual, pregnancy, post-partum and menopause) and inadequate internalisation of the 'feminine social role' as examples of the unusual stresses which females must experience before they are likely to break the law (p.270).

Wilson (1973, p.284) concluded, from interviewing thirty 'girls' (aged from 15 to 25) who were either on probation, or in a girls' home or prison, that a majority had either sociopathic or hysteric personality disorders. He defines hysteria as 'dissatisfaction with, or inability to accept, femininity'.

O'Connell (1975, p.4) found that, of all male and female offenders appearing in the Children's Court in 1971, fewer girls than boys were living with 'both natural parents'. Unfortunately, type of offence has not been controlled for in this study, so it is not possible to tell whether the difference is between status and criminal offenders, as has been found overseas, rather than between males and females.

Brown (1970, p.56) in his age analysis of female offending, finds that the crime rate of women in the 40-49 age group has not increased as much as that of women outside this age group. He suggests that :

"... the 'pill' thus has a differential effect i.e. it could smooth out difficulties for women in their forties and at the same time increase depression and guilt feelings among younger women and so promote their ventures into crime. It could be that the overall increasing crime rate among women simply reflects increasing use of the 'pill'."

Nixon (1974, p.79), in his chapter on female offending, echoes Pollak's (1961) view: that females are as inherently 'villainous' as men, but that many female crimes are domestic and unreported. Like Pollak, Nixon seems to assume that, because women are not inherently more law-abiding than men, they must therefore offend at or near the same rate. There appears to be an underlying belief in a 'hydraulic' mechanism at work: if 'villainy' is not expressed in one way (e.g., burglary, car conversion), then it will be expressed in another way (e.g., emptying husband's pockets of money (sic), assaulting children). In addition, Nixon overlooks the fact that the domestic sphere must also mask a wide spectrum of unreported male offending against family members.

Only the New Zealand Department of Justice chapter on female crime mentions the possibility of fewer opportunities and different training being responsible for part of the sex difference in crime. It also raises the question of what effect "... the increasing economic role of the female in the community...will have... on the ratio between male and female offending" (1968, p. 236).

(2) New Zealand quantitative research

Most New Zealand studies which present quantitative information on female offending are of limited value as they collapse all offences into one global category, which includes everything from murder to breaching the Hydatids Control Act.

(a) Whole population

(i) Rates. The global offence category of the New Zealand Department of Justice (1968, p.239) shows female rates increasing over time, but does not give equivalent information on male offending. Brown (1970, p.46) finds that female theft and traffic offences have been increasing, but he also fails to provide equivalent male rates for comparison. Schumacher (1971, pp. 14-20), in her study of violent offending in New Zealand, gives data for both sexes, and these show that violent offences have been rising for both sexes, while female violent offending is at a very low level compared to male violent offending.

(ii) Percent female contributions (%FCs). Brown (1970, p.23) provides the %FC for a global offence category, which rose from 5.6% in 1920 to 9.9% in 1968. The %FC remained near its 1920 level (except for a slight rise during World War II when many young males were overseas) until 1960. %FCs derived from Schumacher's violent offending data are 3% in both 1956 and 1969.

(iii) Absolute differences (ADs). ADs can be derived only from Schumacher's data on violent offending. These show that the absolute difference between the female and male violent offending rates has been increasing between 1956 and 1969.

(iv) Offence profiles. Information on offence profiles is available only from the New Zealand Department of Social Welfare study (1973, p.18), where it was found that over half of Children's Court appearances are for property offences, such as thefts, conversions, etc. The study found that boys tend to steal money, bicycles and cars, while girls tend to steal clothing, money, cosmetics and jewellery. It is apparent

from these details that shoplifting must comprise a much larger proportion of the property offences of girls than of boys. (The link between sex roles and delinquency is also apparent in the type of item stolen.)

(b) Ethnic group comparison

In all four studies which include ethnic background by sex of offender, the comparison is between Maoris and non-Maoris.

(i) Rates. Three of the ethnic studies examine juvenile delinquency, and find the same thing: young Maoris (aged 16 and under) 'come to official notice' at a rate far exceeding that of non-Maoris. This difference is so marked that Maori girls 'come to official notice' at a rate exceeding that of non-Maori boys. These trends have been present throughout the period 1964 to 1981, the years covered by the three studies (Fifield & Donnell 1980, pp.15-16; New Zealand Department of Social Welfare 1973, p.15; and Lovell & Stewart 1983, p.8).

The picture is slightly different for the over-16 age group. MacKenzie (1973, pp.169-170) and Fifield & Donnell (1980, pp.22-23) find from their analyses of Magistrates Court convictions that, while there is still a marked difference between Maoris and non-Maoris, non-Maori male rates do exceed Maori female rates.

(ii) Percent female contributions (%FCs). When offences are collapsed into one category (New Zealand Department of Social Welfare 1973, p.15; Lovell & Stewart 1983, p.8; and Fifield & Donnell 1980, pp.16-17), for juveniles, Maori %FCs tend to be a little higher than non-Maori %FCs. In addition, %FCs are rising slightly over time for both ethnic groups.

When adult %FCs are derived from a global offence

category, the Maori %FC is slightly higher (MacKenzie 1973, pp.169-170; Fifield & Donnell 1980, pp.22-23). But when the separate offence categories of assaults, burglary/theft/fraud, and conversion/wilful damage are examined (MacKenzie 1973, pp.169-170), the %FCs are the same for Maoris and non-Maoris.

(iii) ADs. ADs derived from the data of Fifield & Donnell (1980, pp.15-16, pp.22-23) indicate that ADs increased over the period of their study for both ethnic groups, and both age groups.

(iv) Offence profiles. Information on ethnic group offence profiles is available only from Lovell & Stewart's study of juvenile delinquency, and from MacKenzie's study of adult criminality.

Lovell & Stewart's (1983, p.24) analysis of 1981 data indicates that theft and 'misbehaviour' (undefined, but presumably includes status offences), are the most common offences for juvenile females of both ethnic groups, while theft and burglary are the most common for males. The differences are more significant between the sexes than between the two ethnic groups.

MacKenzie's (1973, pp.169-170) analysis of 1971 Magistrates Court data also indicates a greater sex difference than ethnic difference. Assaults and conversion/damage comprise a larger proportion of male convictions (Maoris and non-Maoris), while burglary/theft/fraud comprise over 50% of female convictions for both Maoris and non-Maoris.

For both juveniles and adults, however, differences between the sexes are nevertheless within the 'same order of

magnitude'.

(c) Peak offending age

Three New Zealand studies provide data on peak offending age by sex. Brown (1970, p.51) found that the 14-17 age group was the peak offending age in 1946, 1955 and 1965, for both sexes. The Department of Social Welfare study (1973, p.15) found that, in 1971, 16 was the peak age for males aged 16 and under, while 15 was the peak age for girls aged 16 and under. Similarly, Lovell & Stewart (1983, p.10) found that, between 1978 and 1981, 16 was the peak age for juvenile non-Maori males and females, while juvenile Maori males peaked at 15 or 16, and juvenile Maori females at 14-16. All three studies used one global offence category and all indicate a similar peak age for both sexes (although they do not look at 18-plus age groups), with Maoris possibly peaking a little earlier than non-Maoris.

Chapter summary

(a) Etiology of female crime and sex differences in criminality

Earlier research into female criminality tended either to stress endogenous causes at the expense of social factors, or to assert that females and males offend at a similar rate, but that female crime is usually 'masked' and not reported. These views have, however, been rejected by most contemporary researchers, who are now trying to extend so-called 'general' theories of crime to accommodate the existence of female crime. Strain theory and social control theory do not adequately account for the lower level of female crime, and peer group subculture theory leaves questions relating to serious offending and adult criminality unanswered.

When the sex difference in criminality is examined in isolation, the lower level of female offending is usually attributed to labelling

effects or to structural and cultural variables. The labelling explanation was fairly popular for a short time, but most researchers now regard the sex differential as real and significant. Structural variables, such as opportunity to engage in criminal behaviour, appear capable of explaining much of the sex difference. On the other hand, while there has been little success in finding links between cultural variables, such as socialisation practices, and criminality, it is widely believed that this is because the links are subtle, complex and hard to find, and not because they do not exist.

(b) The 'female crime wave' and the influence of women's emancipation

Attempts by Adler (1975) and Simon (1975b) to demonstrate that female crime is rising faster than male crime, and that the modern women's movement is responsible for this 'female crime wave', have been shown to lack substance. Relative increases in female crime are limited to adult forgery, juvenile theft, and juvenile status offences. Other studies attempting to establish a relationship between women's emancipation and female crime, or to refute the emancipation hypothesis, give inconsistent and inconclusive results.

(c) Quantitative research

Males continue to commit far more illegal acts than females. While the female contribution towards many offences is increasing, the gap between males and females also continues to increase. The assumption that female crime is in general 'rising faster than male crime' is shown to be incorrect.

Offence profiles are very similar for both sexes, dramatic differences being limited to adult and juvenile theft, and juvenile burglary and status offences. It is therefore concluded that differences in male and female criminality are differences of degree rather than kind.

There is insufficient data on ethnic background in the overseas literature to draw any conclusions regarding the relationship of female to male crime in different ethnic groups. There is also very little information on age differences between the sexes. However, it seems clear that the mid-teens are the peak offending ages for both sexes, particularly for property offences, with violent offences peaking after age 18.

(d) New Zealand research

There has been very little qualitative research in New Zealand on female criminality. Most writers who comment on female crime have subscribed to the popular explanations of their particular times.

As far as it goes, the New Zealand quantitative research is consistent with overseas quantitative research. Rates and female contributions are rising, while absolute differences continue to widen, and the mid-teens are the peak offending ages for both sexes. In addition, New Zealand data suggest that ethnic minority group females offend at higher rates than ethnic majority group females.

CHAPTER THREE

AIMS AND METHODS

Research aims

The major aims of this study have been outlined in the Introduction and are briefly restated as follows :

- (1) To provide an account of the nature of and trends in female crime in New Zealand since 1950; and
- (2) To determine whether female crime in New Zealand is rising faster than male crime, and if so, whether 'emancipation' is responsible.

Choice of research method

There are relatively few methods open to the investigator of crime trends. For social scientists interested in the true incidence of crime, as opposed to the relatively small proportion of offences for which an offender is apprehended, the 'self-report' questionnaire is often used. A closely related method is the victim survey, where respondents provide details of crimes which have been committed against them. Unfortunately, neither of these methods is appropriate for the present study, as they do not describe trends over time.

Another method is to investigate the offences committed by prison or borstal inmates. However, as only a small proportion of convicted offenders is sent to prison or borstal, this method samples a very unrepresentative pool of offenders and offences.

The fourth and most popular method is to analyse official crime statistics, such as police or court records. Unfortunately, while this method enables ready access to a large pool of data on criminal offences, it taps only that proportion of offences which have been reported to the police, or for which an offender appears in court. This proportion varies widely according to the type of offence, from

very low for rape to very high for murder.

Notwithstanding these reservations, however, official statistics provide the only long-term data on crime trends. Moreover, they have been the preferred data base of other writers on female crime (e.g. Adler 1975; Simon 1975a, 1975b; Steffensmeier 1980a; Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier 1980; Box & Hale 1983, etc.). They also cover a wide range of offences and employ a large data pool. Finally, they appear to represent the sex ratio in criminal offending with reasonable accuracy (Hindelang 1979, p.148). For these reasons, official statistics are employed in this project. Unfortunately, Police Department statistics on offenders apprehended are inaccessible prior to 1964. But, with some exceptions, Justice Statistics based on court prosecution records are available from 1950 and prior to that date. Consequently, Justice Statistics published by the New Zealand Department of Statistics are employed in this project.

Justice Statistics

The three major court systems in New Zealand are the High Court (formerly the Supreme Court), the District Court (formerly the Magistrates Court), and the Children and Young Persons Court (formerly the Children's Court). Generally speaking, persons aged 17 and over appear in the District Court, and those aged 16 and under appear in the Children and Young Persons Court (called the 'Children's Court' from now on for brevity).

The High Court deals with the more serious examples of many types of offence. Because High Court charges do not represent mainstream offending in New Zealand, and because many High Court charges originate in the District Court and are therefore duplicated in the District Court tables, High Court data are excluded from this analysis.

The Justice Statistics compiled by the Department of Statistics provide annual nationwide information about persons who come before these courts on criminal and civil matters. As criminality is the subject of this enquiry, only tables of 'offences' are used in this project.

The Justice Statistics on criminal proceedings present tables giving the total number of charges involving each offence classification, together with tables of actual persons charged. Details of convictions and sentences are also provided in these tables. Charges, rather than convictions, form the data base of this project, however. While this means that acquittals are included, it is considered the best policy to use data that has undergone as little processing as possible between the original data collection (arrests and summonses) and data analysis (Mukherjee & Fitzgerald 1981, p.138). This becomes especially important in a between-sex analysis, to reduce the possibility of 'chivalry' towards female offenders by the Courts distorting the data.

Data base

Distinct Cases tables count the number of females and males arrested or summonsed under each offence classification. If, as is often the case, a person is charged with more than one offence on a specific occasion, then that person enters the statistics only once, classified under the most serious of the charges laid against him or her. If someone is charged with several counts of, say, forgery, then that person is counted in the forgery classification only once. If someone is charged with one count of murder and one of burglary, then only the murder charge is entered for that person in the Distinct Cases tables. Distinct Cases tables have been available for the

District and Children's Court data only since 1956.

Total Charges tables detail the number of charges involving each offence category, for each sex. All charges are classified and included in these tables. If a person is charged with more than one offence, or several charges involving the same offence, each separate charge is counted and entered in these tables. Total Charges tables have been available ever since the Justice Statistics were first published in 1921, so analyses using total charges data can begin from 1950.

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show that ratios of total charges to distinct cases have stayed very constant over the years, with the exception of drugs offences, where the ratio has gradually increased. It has therefore been decided to exclude distinct cases from further analysis, on the grounds that the results of any such analysis will merely duplicate the results of the analysis of total charges data.

Data relating to the whole population, different ethnic groups, and different age groups, are contained in separate sets of tables, with slightly differing data bases. The tables containing whole population data include charges made by arrest and summons. Tables containing ethnic group data (i.e. Maoris vs. whole population) include only charges made by arrest. Tables containing age data differ not only from the above, but also according to the Court. In the District Court, age data is available only on convictions obtained from total charges arrest cases. In the Children's Court, however, age data is available only on convictions and acquittals, distinct cases, arrests and summonses. Comparability of results is of course limited by these differences.

Offence categories used

Just as the data bases differ slightly for each social grouping

TABLE 3.1. - RATIO OF TOTAL CHARGES TO DISTINCT CASES:
DISTRICT COURT (BROAD OFFENCE GROUPS)

YEAR	OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON		OFFENCES AGAINST PROPERTY		DRUGS OFFENCES	
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
1950	1.1	1.3	1.9	1.9	-*	-*
1951	1.1	1.3	1.7	1.9	-	-
1952	1.1	1.2	1.6	1.9	-	-
1953	1.2	1.4	1.6	2.0	-	-
1954	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.1	-	-
1955	1.1	1.2	1.9	2.0	-	-
1956**	-	-	-	-	-	-
1957	1.1	1.3	2.0	2.1	-	-
1958	1.3	1.4	2.0	2.2	-	-
1959	1.1	1.2	1.9	2.1	-	-
1960	1.1	1.3	1.8	2.1	-	-
1961	1.2	1.3	1.8	2.0	-	-
1962	1.3	1.3	1.7	2.0	-	-
1963	1.1	1.3	1.8	2.0	-	-
1964	1.1	1.2	1.1	2.1	-	-
1965	1.2	1.3	1.6	2.1	1.2	1.1
1966	1.2	1.2	1.7	2.0	1.3	1.1
1967	1.1	1.2	1.8	2.0	1.2	1.1
1968	1.1	1.2	1.9	2.1	1.3	1.1
1969	1.1	1.3	1.6	2.0	1.2	1.1
1970	1.1	1.2	1.7	1.9	1.2	1.2
1971	1.1	1.2	1.7	1.9	1.3	1.3
1972	1.1	1.2	1.6	2.0	1.3	1.3
1973	1.1	1.2	1.8	2.0	1.4	1.2
1974	1.1	1.3	1.8	2.0	1.4	1.3
1975	1.2	1.3	1.9	1.9	1.3	1.2
1976	1.2	1.3	1.9	2.0	1.3	1.2
1977	1.2	1.3	1.7	2.0	1.5	1.4
1978	1.2	1.3	1.9	2.0	1.4	1.4
1979	1.2	1.3	1.9	1.9	1.4	1.4
1980	1.2	1.3	1.9	1.9	1.3	1.4

* Drug offences grouped with offences against good order until 1965

** No total charges data available for 1956 therefore no ratios calculable

TABLE 3.2. - RATIO OF TOTAL CHARGES TO DISTINCT CASES:
CHILDREN'S COURT (BROAD OFFENCE GROUPS)

YEAR	OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON		OFFENCES AGAINST PROPERTY		DRUGS OFFENCES	
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
1950	1.0	1.3	1.9	2.1	-*	-*
1951	1.0	1.3	1.7	2.1	-	-
1952	0.0	1.4	1.9	2.1	-	-
1953	1.0	1.4	1.9	2.0	-	-
1954	1.0	1.5	1.9	2.4	-	-
1955	1.0	1.3	1.7	2.2	-	-
1956	**	-	-	-	-	-
1957	1.0	1.3	1.8	2.2	-	-
1958	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.2	-	-
1959	1.0	1.3	1.6	2.5	-	-
1960	1.1	1.3	1.7	2.3	-	-
1961	1.7	1.4	2.1	2.4	-	-
1962	1.0	1.4	2.0	2.5	-	-
1963	1.0	1.3	1.8	2.6	-	-
1964	1.0	1.2	2.1	2.4	-	-
1965	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.5	1.1	1.2
1966	1.0	1.3	2.2	2.5	1.1	1.2
1967	1.2	1.2	1.9	2.5	1.1	1.2
1968	1.1	1.2	2.1	2.5	1.3	1.3
1969	1.1	1.2	2.0	2.5	1.1	1.2
1970	1.4	1.2	1.9	2.3	1.1	1.2
1971	1.2	1.3	2.0	2.4	1.1	1.2
1972	1.1	1.2	2.0	2.5	1.1	1.3
1973	1.1	1.3	2.0	2.4	1.1	1.2
1974	1.2	1.2	1.9	2.5	1.2	1.3
1975	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.2	1.2	1.3
1976	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.4	1.1	1.2
1977	1.3	1.2	2.0	2.4	1.4	1.4
1978***	-	-	-	-	-	-
1979	1.2	1.2	1.9	2.4	1.3	1.5
1980	1.2	1.3	1.9	2.4	1.3	1.7

* Drug offences grouped with offences against good order until 1965

** No total charges data available for 1956 therefore no ratios calculable

*** No Children's Court data published for 1978

being examined, so also do the offence categories available for analysis.

(a) Whole population

Total Charges tables containing whole population data incorporate all charges in the District and Children's Courts. Offences range from the very serious (murder) to the very trivial (having no television licence).

In order to reduce the data to manageable proportions, it has been necessary to be very selective. My policy has been to retain most of the offences listed in the tables under the headings, 'Offences against the person' (most but not all of which are violent offences), 'Offences against property' and 'Drug offences', and to exclude all others, except where the female proportion or rate appears to be higher than usual (i.e., prostitution, idle and disorderly, indigent child, social security fraud, minors found in bars, and minor traffic offences). Some offences against the person have been excluded because they are extremely rare (e.g. criminal libel or slander); undefined (e.g. 'other offences against the person'); because they are no longer crimes (e.g. attempted suicide); or because it is not known how they have been classified in previous years (e.g. threatening to kill or do grievous bodily harm).

It was also necessary to group the selected offences into broader categories. Without this grouping, the selected offences would number over 100, many of them of a similar nature. Table 3.3 lists the 26 offence categories decided upon, and the types of offence included in each. Generally speaking, offences fit into the 26 categories with little strain. Table 3.3 briefly details some of the problems involved. Because of the changing nature of offence definition over the years, these categories do not purport to be precise, unchanging

TABLE 3.3. - OFFENCE CATEGORIES: WHOLE POPULATION ANALYSIS

OFFENCE CATEGORY	OFFENCES INCLUDED IN EACH OFFENCE CATEGORY
HOMICIDE	Murder, attempted murder, manslaughter. (Attempted murder included because intention is to kill, and lack of success may be due to chance rather than difference in intent.)
WOUNDING	Wounding, injuring, disabling with intent or reckless disregard, unlawfully doing or causing actual bodily harm (or attempts), wilfully or neglectfully endangering human life, etc. (Differs from assault category in that intention is to wound, to injure. However, 'assault with intent to injure' has been placed in assault category.)
TRAFFIC (SERIOUS)	All traffic offences involving injury or death.
ASSAULT	Aggravated assault, assault with intent to injure, common assault (Crimes Act, and Police Offences Act), unlawful intimidation by violence, assault by a male on a female, assault on a child, assault on police (Crimes Act, and Police Offences Act), assault on official other than police officer, obstructing or hindering police or other official. ('Assault on a child' cannot be separated from 'assault by a male on a female' therefore cannot be included in a category of offences against children. 'Obstructing or hindering police' is included because in earlier years, was included with 'assaulting or obstructing police'.)
SEXUAL OFFENCES	All sexual offences including violent assaults and illegal sexual intercourse, but excluding obscene phone calls, etc. (An unsatisfactory category because it has not always been possible to separate violent sexual assaults from illegal sexual intercourse. Many offences in this category are not illegal in some other Western countries.)
BIGAMY	Bigamy
ROBBERY	Aggravated robbery, robbery, assault with intent to rob, stealing and/or theft from the person, extortion by threat, extortion, demanding with menaces, etc. (Unsatisfactory, because it includes stealing and theft from the person, often without threat of violence. In earlier years, robbery and stealing or theft from the person were grouped together, so cannot be separated.)
ABORTION	Procuring abortions and attempts. (Prosecutions of men and women performing abortions. Women undergoing abortions are apparently never charged.)
INFANTICIDE	Infanticide, concealment of birth, concealing dead body of child. (Infanticide by definition can only be committed by a female. Both sexes are occasionally charged with concealment offences, however.)
CRUELTY TO CHILDREN	Abandoning, ill-treating and cruelty to a child. (Excludes 'assault on a child', included in assault category because linked with assault on a female.)
KIDNAPPING	Kidnapping and abduction.

TABLE 3.3. (CONTINUED) - OFFENCE CATEGORIES: WHOLE POPULATION ANALYSIS

OFFENCE CATEGORY	OFFENCES INCLUDED IN EACH OFFENCE CATEGORY
THEFT	Theft as a servant, other theft by persons in position of trust, theft from vessel, cattle and sheep stealing, embezzlement, theft undefined and attempts, and theft (other). (Excludes theft and/or stealing from the person included in robbery category. Theft (other) includes shoplifting, which cannot be separated out, unfortunately.
FRAUD	Fraud and false pretences. (No further detail supplied in Justice Statistics.)
FORGERY	Forgery, uttering forged documents, counterfeiting and coinage offences, other offences against the currency. (Apparently includes many cheque forgeries, etc.)
SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	Breaches of Social Security Act - fraud, making false statement, misleading Social Welfare Department Officer. (This offence has always been placed under the heading 'Other offences' rather than with other fraud offences, for some reason.
BURGLARY	Burglary, breaking and entering (other) and attempts, possession of housebreaking or burglary instruments, entering with intent to commit a crime, being armed with intent to break and enter, etc.
RECEIVING	Receiving stolen property, other offences relating to stolen property.
DAMAGE	Wilful damage, trespass, arson and attempts, wrecking, interfering and endangering offences, damaging railway property.
CONVERSION	Unlawful conversion of property (virtually all motor vehicles) to own use, and attempts, unlawful taking of motor vehicle, interfering with motor vehicle (not included in damage category).
CANNABIS	All offences involving cannabis, e.g. cultivation, import/export, selling, possessing, using, supplying, dealing in, possession for sale or supply, possessing instruments for use with, etc.
DRUGS (OTHER)	All other drug offences - opium (mainly in early years), heroin, LSD, cocaine, barbiturates, etc, etc. All offences involving any of these drugs.
PROSTITUTION	Brothel-keeping and prostitution. Unlikely to represent the relationship between the sexes very accurately.
INDIGENT CHILD	Being an indigent or delinquent child.
IDLE AND DISORDERLY	Idle and disorderly
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	All traffic offences, excluding those involving death and injury - e.g., speeding, careless driving, drunk driving, parking infringements, driving without licence or warrant of fitness, etc.
MINORS FOUND IN BARS	Minors found in bars only. No other liquor offences included in this category.

TABLE 3.4. - OFFENCE CATEGORIES: MAORI/WHOLE POPULATION COMPARISON

OFFENCE CATEGORY	OFFENCES INCLUDED IN EACH OFFENCE CATEGORY
<u>DISTRICT COURT</u>	
OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON	All offences against the person of a non-sexual nature; usually categorised as assaults and other offences against the person; other offences involving violence or threats of violence, etc.
'MORE-MASCULINE' PROPERTY OFFENCES	Property offences for which there has traditionally been a high male/female ratio - i.e. offences comprising the burglary, receiving, conversion and damage offence categories in Table 3.3.
THEFT	Same as theft offence category in Table 3.3.
FRAUD	Same as fraud offence category in Table 3.3.
FORGERY	Same as forgery offence category in Table 3.3.
DRUGS (ALL)	All drug offences, included cannabis. (Same as cannabis and drugs (other) categories of Table 3.3., combined.)
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	Same as traffic (minor) offence category in Table 3.3.
<u>CHILDREN'S COURT</u>	
OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON	Same as District Court offences against the person category (above).
PROPERTY OFFENCES	All offences against property - theft, fraud, forgery, burglary, receiving, damage and conversion. (Excludes social security fraud, however.) No further division possible from Children's Court tables.
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	Same as traffic (minor) offence category in Table 3.3. and above.

TABLE 3.5. - OFFENCE CATEGORIES: PEAK OFFENDING AGE ANALYSIS

OFFENCE CATEGORY	OFFENCES INCLUDED IN EACH OFFENCE CATEGORY
<u>DISTRICT COURT</u>	
OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON	Same as offences against the person offence category in Table 3.4.
'MORE-MASCULINE' PROPERTY OFFENCES	Same as 'more-masculine' property offence category in Table 3.4.
'LESS-MASCULINE' PROPERTY OFFENCES	Offences where male/female ratio traditionally lower than in 'more-masculine' property offences - combines the theft, fraud and forgery offence categories from Tables 3.3 and 3.4. (Excludes social security fraud category, however.)
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	Same as traffic (minor) offence category in Tables 3.3 and 3.4
DRUGS (ALL)	Same as drugs (all) offence category in Table 3.4.
<u>CHILDREN'S COURT</u>	
OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON	Same as offences against the person offence category in Table 3.4.and above.
PROPERTY OFFENCES	Same as Children's Court property offences category in Table 3.4.
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	Same as traffic (minor) offence category in Tables 3.3, 3.4 and above.
INDIGENT CHILD	Same as indigent child offence category in Table 3.3.

descriptions of actual behaviour from 1950 to 1980. At best, they are reasonably close approximations.

(b) Ethnic group comparison

Many offence classifications in the District and Children's Courts are extremely broad, and some of these have been further broadened in an attempt to create thematically more coherent offence categories. Table 3.4 lists the offence categories for each Court and the offences included in each.

(c) Age of offenders

Table 3.5 lists the offence categories for each Court and the offences included in each. The comments under (b) above apply also to the age data.

Methods

So far, I have stated the general aims and described the statistical data base of the project. I now describe how those data have been manipulated to achieve those aims.

Aim (1) - Nature of and trends in female crime in New Zealand

The same descriptive statistics used by other researchers reviewed in the previous chapter (pp. 23 to 26) are employed for the whole population analysis and the ethnic group comparison: Rates per 100,000, Percent Female Contributions (%FCs), Absolute Differences (ADs), and Offence Profiles.

- (i) Rates are presented in graphs rather than tables, so that trends are visible at a glance. Raw data have been converted to

rates per 100,000 of the relevant populations¹: by sex and age group (District Court 17 plus, Children's Court 16 minus) for the whole population analysis; and by sex, age group and ethnic group (Maori and whole population) for the ethnic group comparison.

(ii) Percent female contributions (%FCs) are presented in tables similar to Tables 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6 in the previous chapter. Rates for the first three years and last three years have been averaged to reduce random fluctuation in low-frequency offences. %FCs were then calculated from these averaged rates :

$$\%FC = \frac{\text{female rate}}{\text{female} + \text{male rates}} \times 100$$

Ten of the 26 offence categories in Table 3.3 are excluded from these tables, either because of very low occurrence in official statistics for both sexes (homicide, bigamy, abortion, infanticide, cruelty to children, kidnapping and prostitution); because the charge has fallen into disuse (idle and disorderly, and indigent child); or because the charge is scarcely relevant to a study of female criminality (sex offences).

(iii) Absolute differences (ADs) are also presented in tables, similar to those in the previous chapter (Table 2.7, 2.8 and 2.9), showing whether the sex difference in each offence category is increasing, decreasing, or remains unchanged. These trends are also apparent from the graphed rates.

1

Population data were obtained from the NZ Department of Statistics in Christchurch. They consist of estimates of the population during the inter-censal years, based on census data, and records of births, deaths, and migrations.

(iv) Offence profiles are also presented in tables similar to those in the previous chapter (Tables 2.10, 2.11 and 2.12). Offence categories of each sex are ranked in order of their percentage frequencies.

Peak offending ages for each sex are presented in tables. Raw data are first of all converted to rates per 100,000 of females and males in each age group (0-9, 10-12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21-24, 25-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, and 60 plus). Then, the rate for each age group is converted to a percentage of the summed rates for each year. This method ensures that changes in size of age cohorts over time are controlled for. The age group which accounts for the largest single proportion of total offences in each year, plus age groups within 5% of the absolute peak, are defined as the peak offending ages in that year.

Aim (2) - To determine whether female crime is rising faster than male crime, and if so, whether 'emancipation' is responsible

(a) Absolute differences (ADs)

As stated on p.16, rising %FCs have generally been regarded as evidence that female offence rates are rising faster than male rates. However, as it can now be shown (see pp.17-18) that rising %FCs do not necessarily indicate relative rises in female crime, absolute differences are used here, to identify any instances of real convergence between the male and female rates.

(b) Correlation analysis

Pearson's r correlation analysis is used to measure the strength of relationships between converging female offence rates and certain 'conventional' measures of women's emancipation, other measures of social change, and equivalent male offence rates.

It had been intended to perform a partial replication and extension of the studies of Fox & Hartnagel (1979) and Box & Hale (1983), using multiple regression analysis to distinguish between genuine and spurious relationships. However, the presence of extreme multicollinearity among the independent variables (see Table 3.6, which shows the very high intercorrelations) would make the result of multiple regression unreliable, and its use therefore unfeasible (Nie, Hull et al 1975, pp.340-341).

While correlation analysis cannot distinguish causal from non-causal relationships (multiple regression analysis cannot either), and while zero-order correlations do not control for the indirect effects of other variables (multiple regression partial correlations can do this), correlation analysis can nevertheless show whether two variables are related or not, and certain inferences can be made about such relationships. For example, if 'women's emancipation' is criminogenic, then we would expect correlations between emancipation variables and converging female offence rates to be higher than correlations between :

- (i) Other independent variables and converging female offence rates;
- (ii) Emancipation variables and equivalent male offence rates; and
- (iii) Emancipation variables and non-converging female offence rates.

Dependent variables

The dependent variables employed in the above analysis consist of the 16 offence categories used in the %FC and AD analyses (see p.62). These rates have been converted to base 10 logarithms, because this conversion improves the linearity of most offence categories.

TABLE 3.6. - INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG INDEPENDENT VARIABLES EMPLOYED
IN PEARSON'S R CORRELATION ANALYSIS

Birth rate	1.00						
Women in work force	-.85	1.00					
Women in police force	-.96	.78	1.00				
Female divorce rate	-.94	.77	.94	1.00			
Tax exemption value	.96	-.78	-.95	-.95	1.00		
Urbanisation rate	-.80	.98	.73	.77	-.74	1.00	
Consumer price index	-.94	.89	.92	.92	-.93	.85	1.00
	Birth rate	Women in work force	Women in police force	Female divorce rate	Tax exemp- tion value	Urban- isation rate	Consumer price index

NOTE: Extreme multi-collinearity, according to Nie, Hull et al (1975, pp.340-341), is present when correlations exceed .80. Fifteen of the 21 correlations above are over .80 and the remaining 6 are all over .70.

(Pearson's r is a measure of the strength of the linear relationship between two variables (Nie, Hull et al 1975, p.279).)

Independent variables

The independent variables consist of the equivalent male offence rates, plus the following seven measures (derived from information in the New Zealand Yearbooks, 1948 to 1982, except where otherwise stated):

(i) Number of births per 1,000 women aged 13-49

Fig. 3.1(i) shows that the birth rate has been steadily declining between 1950 and 1980. This seems to be a reasonable measure of growing female emancipation from compulsory child-bearing and childrearing. However, like most of these measures, it applies more to late adolescence and adulthood, when criminal behaviour is declining. On the other hand, parental responsibilities may be partially responsible for the age-related decline in criminality.

(ii) Number of women in the full-time work force, per 1,000 women aged 16 plus

Fig. 3.1(ii) shows that this figure has been rising steadily since 1950. The limitations of using female labour force participation as a measure of emancipation have been discussed on p. 20-21.

(iii) Number of women in the police force, per 100,000 women aged 19 plus (minimum age of entry)

Fig. 3.1(iii) shows that this figure began to rise steadily only in the late 1960s. Box & Hale (1983) use this as a measure of 'declining chivalry' towards women by the justice system. But I consider it more appropriate as a measure of female entry into a male-dominated employment area, and therefore as a 'measure of emancipation'.

(iv) Number of divorce petitions filed by females, per 100,000 women aged 16 plus (minimum age for divorce)

Fig. 3.1(iv) shows that female divorce petitions have been rising steadily since 1950. (Only petitions filed by women are included, but in fact, males and females have each filed approximately half of all divorce petitions since 1950. So similar results would be obtained from using either the female-initiated divorce rate, the male-initiated divorce rate, or the overall divorce rate.) The divorce rate is used by Box & Hale (1983) and Austin (1982) as a measure of emancipation. However, while divorce signifies an end to an unhappy marriage, it is difficult to envisage a deserted woman, with dependent children, reliant upon maintenance payments from her ex-husband or a subsistence allowance from the government, as particularly 'emancipated'.

(v) Value of tax exemption for dependent spouse, indexed to the Consumer Price Index

Fig. 3.1(v) shows that the 'real' value of the tax exemption has been declining since 1960. This measure is included as a contra-indicator of 'emancipation', in contrast to the four preceding measures. Consumer Price Index data are taken from the Prices Statistics (1982, p.22).

(vi) Rate of urbanisation

Fig. 3.1(vi) shows that the percentage of the population living in urban areas rose between 1950 and the early 1970s, and then flattened out.

The New Zealand Yearbook (1982, p.66) definition of 'urban population' is the population of "37 defined main urban areas, plus that of all boroughs, town districts, communities, district

communities and townships with populations of 1000 or over".

Data was available only from the census years 1945, 1956, 1966, 1971, 1976 and 1981. However, as the urbanisation rate appears to have proceeded in a smooth curve, it was considered justified to estimate the rate for the intercensal years from a graph of the rate in each censal year.

This variable is included as a measure of social change unrelated to the emancipation of women, but considered to be related to increases in various types of criminal activity (Kraus 1973, p.227).

(vii) Consumer price index

Fig. 3.1(vii) shows that the consumer price index (consumer prices - all groups) has risen dramatically between 1950 and 1980. (This is the consumer price index against which the tax exemption for dependent spouse was indexed.)

This variable also is included as a measure of social change unrelated to women's emancipation.

Like the dependent variables, the independent variables have also been converted to base 10 logarithms, to improve their linearity, before calculating correlation coefficients.

FIGURE 3.1. - INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

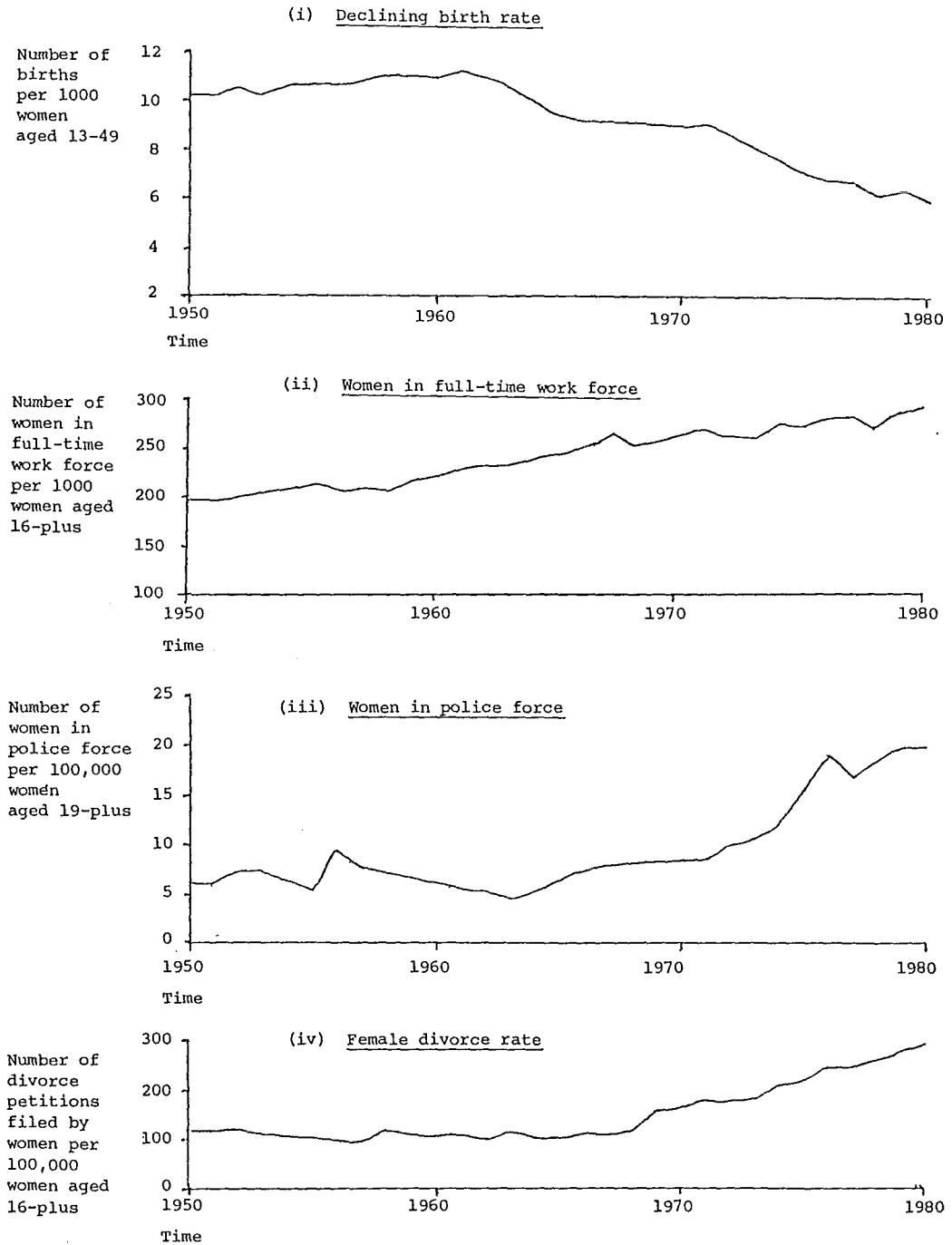
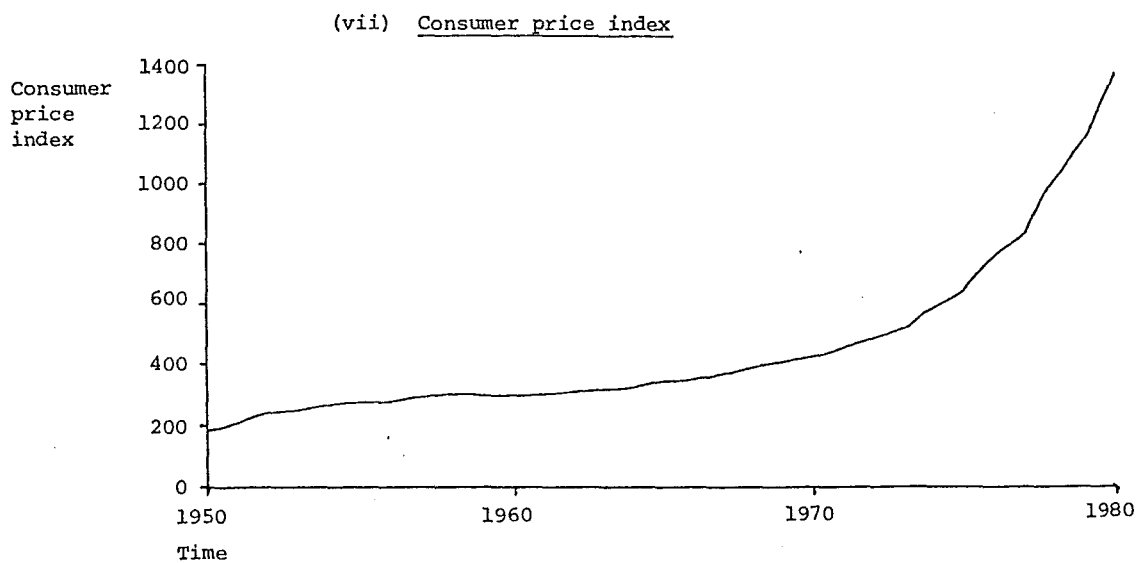
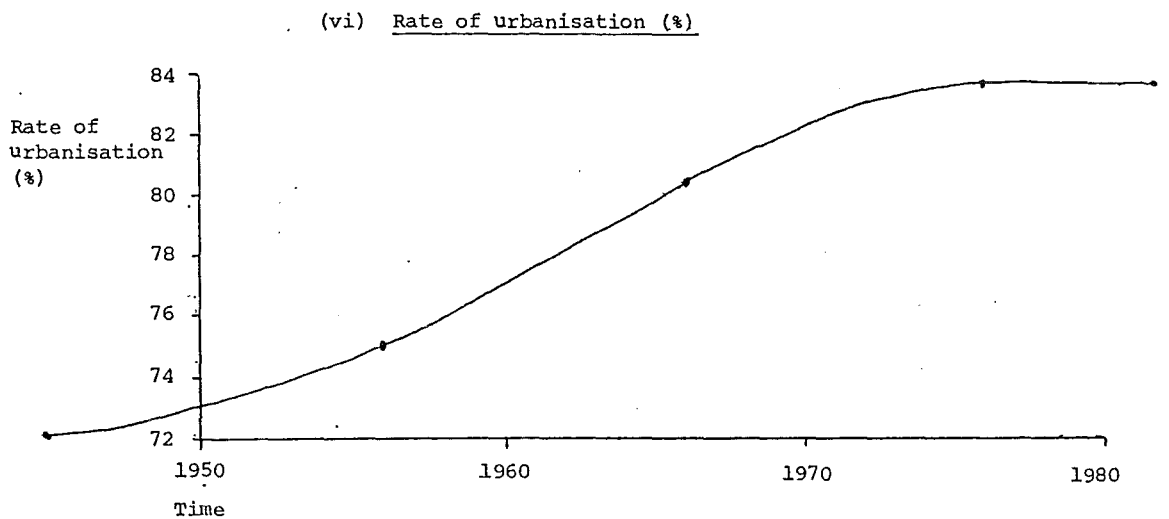
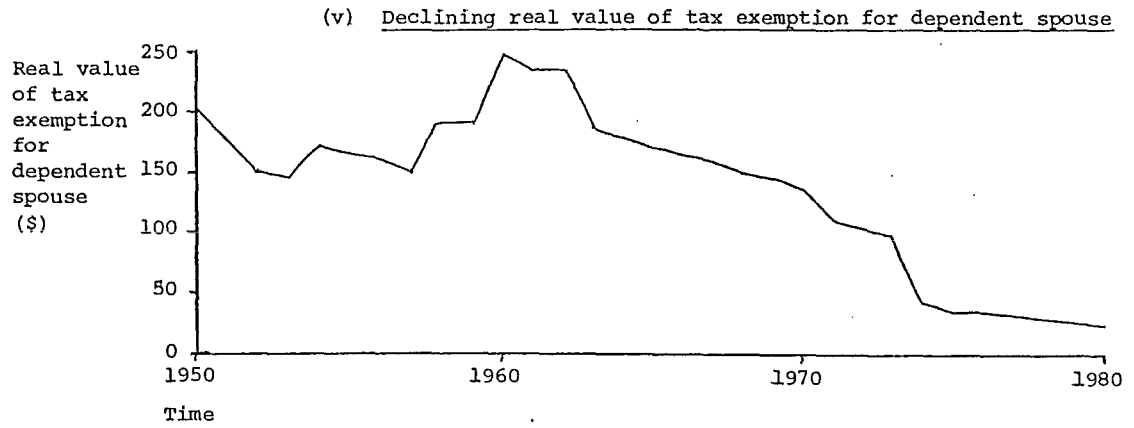


FIGURE 3.1. (CONTINUED) - INDEPENDENT VARIABLES



CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

Introduction

In this chapter, graphs and descriptive tables are used to present a descriptive account of female crime from 1950 to 1980, and to assess whether female crime rates are rising faster than male crime rates. Correlation analysis is then employed to examine the hypothesis that relative increases in female crime are caused by 'women's emancipation'.

Nature of and trends in female crime in New Zealand

(a) Whole population

(i) Graphs

Graphs showing total charges in the District and Children's Courts are presented in figures 4.1 to 4.26. The 26 offence categories examined are grouped under the headings 'Offences against the person'¹, 'Property offences' and 'Victimless offences'.

Offences against the person

This group consists of the first eleven offence categories listed in Table 3.1, namely homicide through to kidnapping (see figures 4.1 to 4.11). It is a very heterogeneous group of offences, which taps more than one underlying dimension.

In four offence categories - wounding, traffic (serious), assaults and robbery - a rising female rate shadows a rising male

¹ The heading 'Offences against the person' is used rather than the 'Violent offences' heading used for the United States data, as some offences in this group are not violent - e.g. bigamy and many sex offences.

rate, but at a lower level. These four offences are among the most frequently-occurring offences in this group, and are as prevalent as most property offences. The absolute differences between male and female rates are continuing to increase in these four offence categories.

In two categories - homicide and kidnapping - the male rate appears to be rising slightly, while the female rate has remained unchanged. Both of these offences occur at a low frequency. (Fig. 4.1 (Homicide) also includes the High Court 'Persons Indicted' homicide rate, because many homicide charges originate in the High Court, unlike most other offence categories.)

In four offence categories - bigamy, abortion, infanticide and cruelty to children - the offence rate of both sexes is similar, and the level for both sexes is static or declining (with the possible exception of cruelty to children). These four offences occur at a very low level.

In the remaining offence category - sex offences - the male rate is high and fairly steady, while the female rate is close to zero from 1950 to 1980.

District Court rates are much higher than Children's Court rates for all offences against the person except robbery, for both sexes. Children's Court male robbery charges have recently jumped to the District Court level.

Property offences

This group comprises the theft, burglary, receiving, fraud, damage, conversion, forgery and social security fraud offence categories (see figures 4.12 to 4.19). The property offences can be divided into two sub-groups for comparison purposes.

The first sub-group consists of the theft, fraud, forgery

and social security fraud offence categories, and is characterised by high levels of female offending, relatively low male/female ratios, and a tendency towards convergence in the fraud, forgery and social security fraud categories. These offences may be categorised as the 'less-masculine' property offences.

The second sub-group consists of the burglary, receiving, damage and conversion offence categories, and is characterised by lower female offence levels, high male/female ratios, and increasing absolute differences between the sexes. This group comprises the 'more-masculine' property offences.

Both sub-groups are characterised by a general rise in offence levels over time, for both sexes, and in both Courts.

Victimless offences

This group embraces a heterogeneous group of seven offences, which are broadly (and in some cases debatably) defined as 'victimless' offences (see figures 4.20 to 4.26). Two offence categories relate to drugs offences, three are applicable mainly or only to minors (idle and disorderly, indigent child, and minors found in bars), and the remaining two are prostitution and minor traffic offences.

Cannabis, drugs (other) and minor traffic offence rates are rising for both sexes, but the male rates are much higher than the female rates, and sex differences are increasing. The trend for minors found in bars is similar, except that the female rate is rising parallel to the male rate. And idle and disorderly and indigent child charges are falling into disuse for both sexes. Finally, female and male prostitution charges have been fairly similar until the late seventies, when the female rate began to rise noticeably and to exceed the male rate. (It is acknowledged

that this offence category does not reflect actual behaviour with any degree of accuracy.)

(ii) Percent female contributions (%FCs)

Table 4.1 sets out %FCs for the sixteen selected offence categories (see p.102), in both courts, at the beginning and end of the period under analysis.

Apart from wounding and cannabis in the District Court, there is a general rise in %FCs. However, as rising %FCs are often simply artifacts of rising male and female offence rates, this trend cannot be taken by itself as evidence that female crime is in general rising faster than male crime.

(iii) Absolute differences (ADs)

Table 4.2 shows that, in most offence categories, ADs are increasing. This suggests that, with a few exceptions, male crime is still rising faster than female crime.

The only offence categories where the sex difference is not being maintained or increased are fraud, forgery, and social security fraud in the District Court, and wounding, fraud, social security fraud, and drugs (other) in the Children's Court.

The convergence in Children's Court wounding appears to result from a static male rate and a slowly rising female rate. It is unusual in that all other offences showing convergence are 'less-masculine' property offences or drugs offences.

(iv) Offence profiles

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 present the offences of each sex in terms of their percentage frequencies, allowing the offence profiles of each sex to be compared.

Table 4.3 shows offence profiles of both sexes in the District

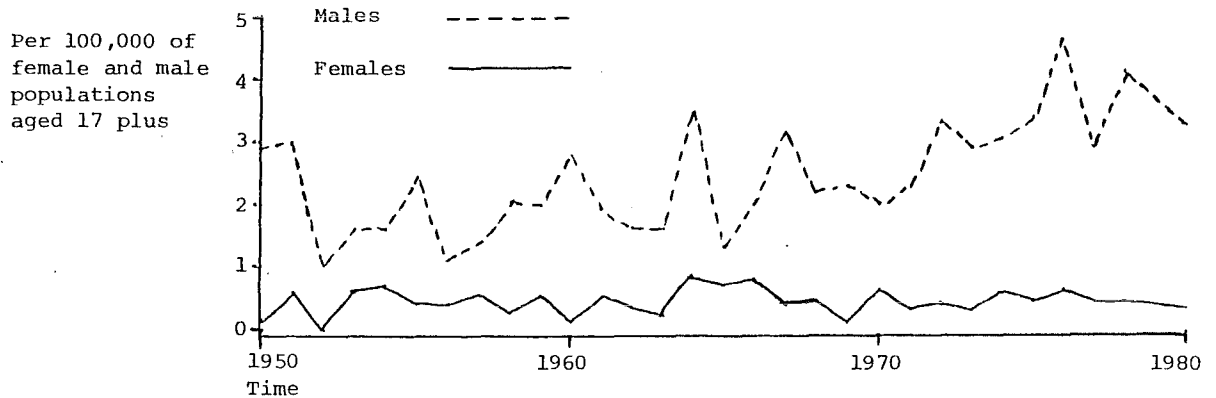
Court. There are few substantial differences between the sexes at either the beginning or end of the time period. Minor traffic offences form by far the largest percentage for both sexes, followed by theft, assaults and other property offences. There are obvious differences between the sexes: theft and fraud form a higher percentage of the female profile, while assaults, burglary and conversion form a high percentage of the male profile. Overall, however, the basic similarities outweigh the differences. For example, in both 1950-1952 and 1978-1980, eight out of the 'top 10' offences of each sex are shared by females and males (although not in the same rank order). In addition, four out of the 'top 5' are common to both sexes - i.e., minor traffic offences, theft, assaults and fraud.

Table 4.4 shows offence profiles of both sexes in the Children's Court. The Children's Court picture is complicated slightly by the recent fall into disuse of indigent child and idle and disorderly, the adolescent 'misbehaviour' charges. These two charges form a much larger percentage of charges against girls than against boys. Minor traffic offences are not nearly as important in the Children's Court as in the District Court, for either sex, and assaults are not quite as prominent. However, theft, burglary, and other property offences have always formed an important percentage for both sexes.

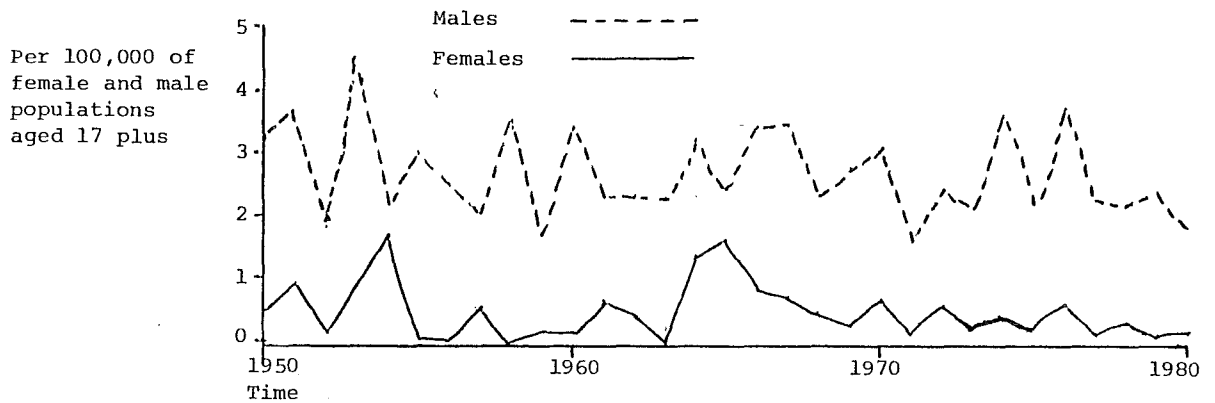
Once again, the obvious differences between the sexes are outweighed by the similarities. For example, in 1950-52, both sexes shared eight of the 'top 10' for each sex, and in 1979-80, they shared nine of the 'top 10'. In addition, in both 1950-52 and 1979-80, three out of the 'top 5' were common to both sexes. In 1950-52, these were indigent child, theft and burglary. In 1979-80, they were theft, burglary and conversion.

FIG. 4.1. - HOMICIDE

(1) HIGH COURT - PERSONS INDICTED



(2) DISTRICT COURT - TOTAL CHARGES



(3) CHILDREN'S COURT - TOTAL CHARGES

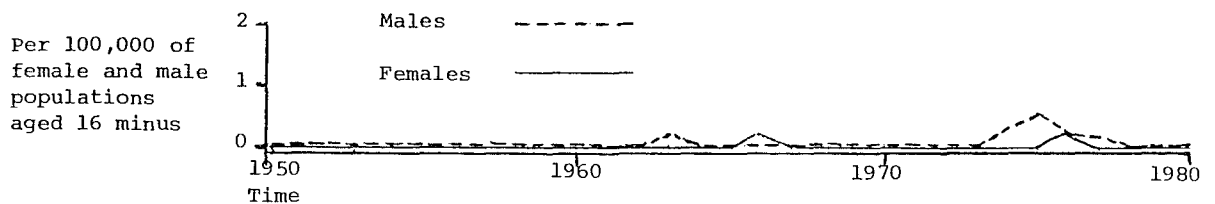
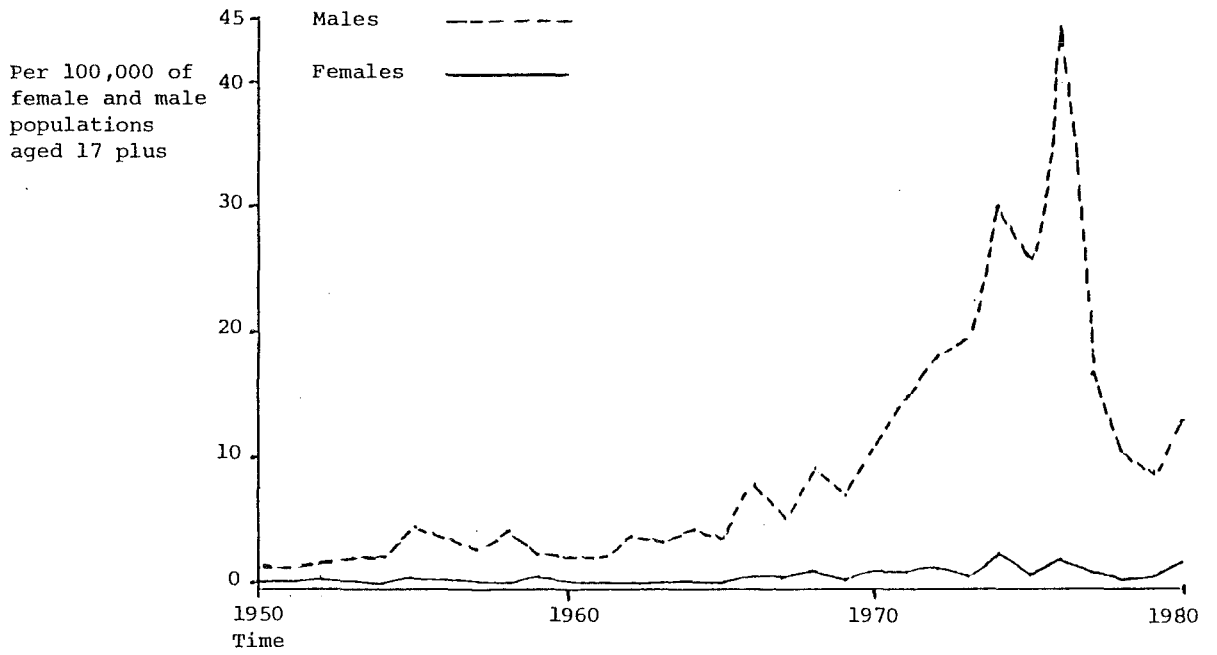


FIG. 4.2. - WOUNDING - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) DISTRICT COURT



(2) CHILDREN'S COURT

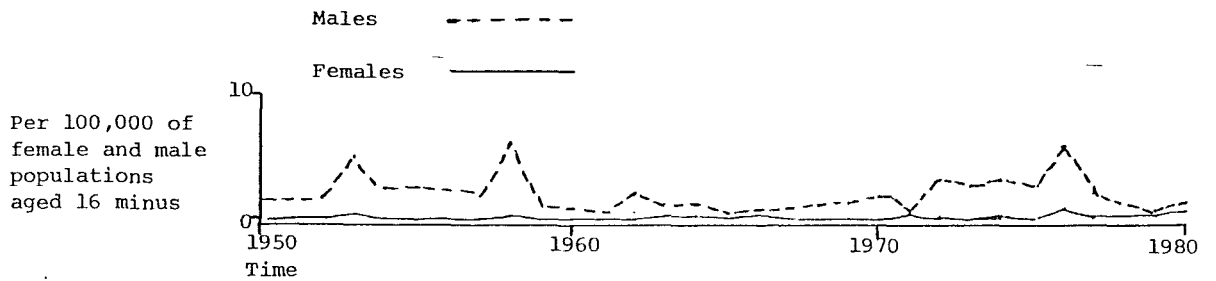


FIG. 4.3. - TRAFFIC (SERIOUS) - TOTAL CHARGES

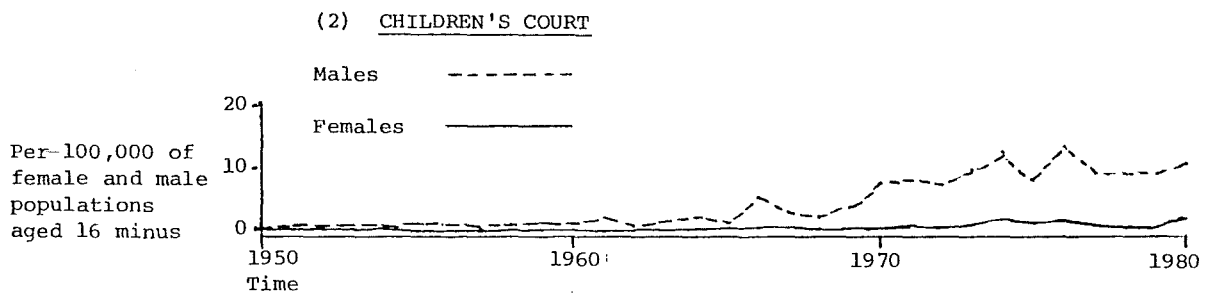
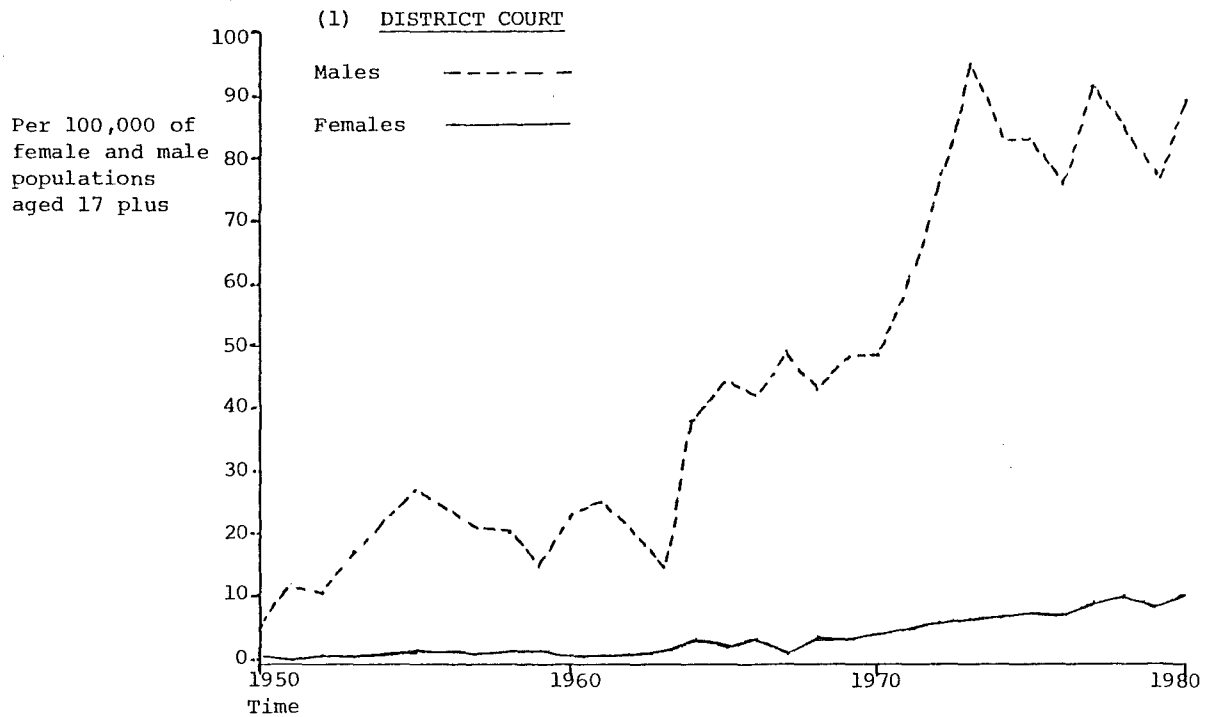


FIG. 4.4. - ASSAULTS - TOTAL CHARGES

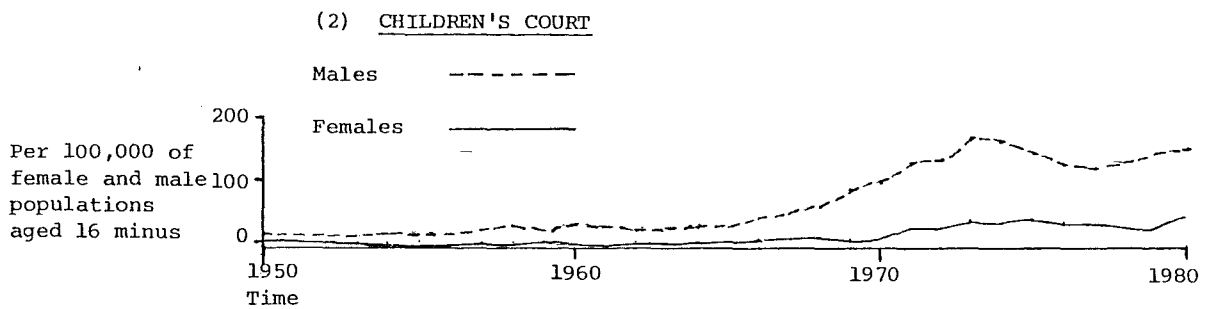
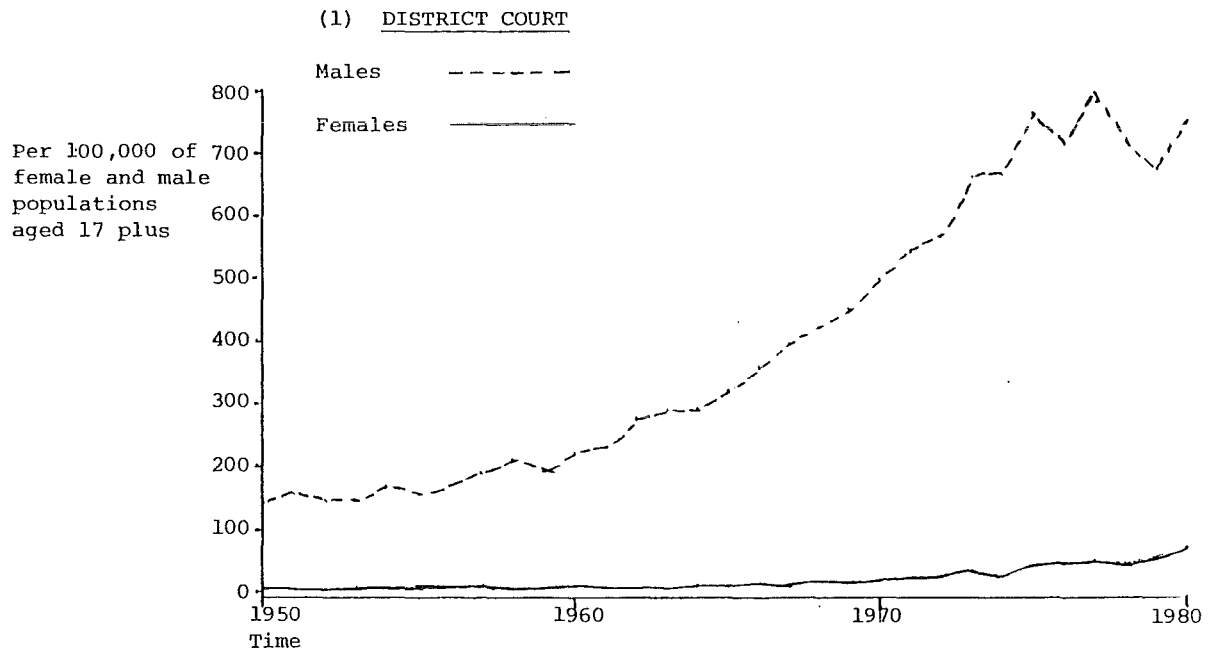
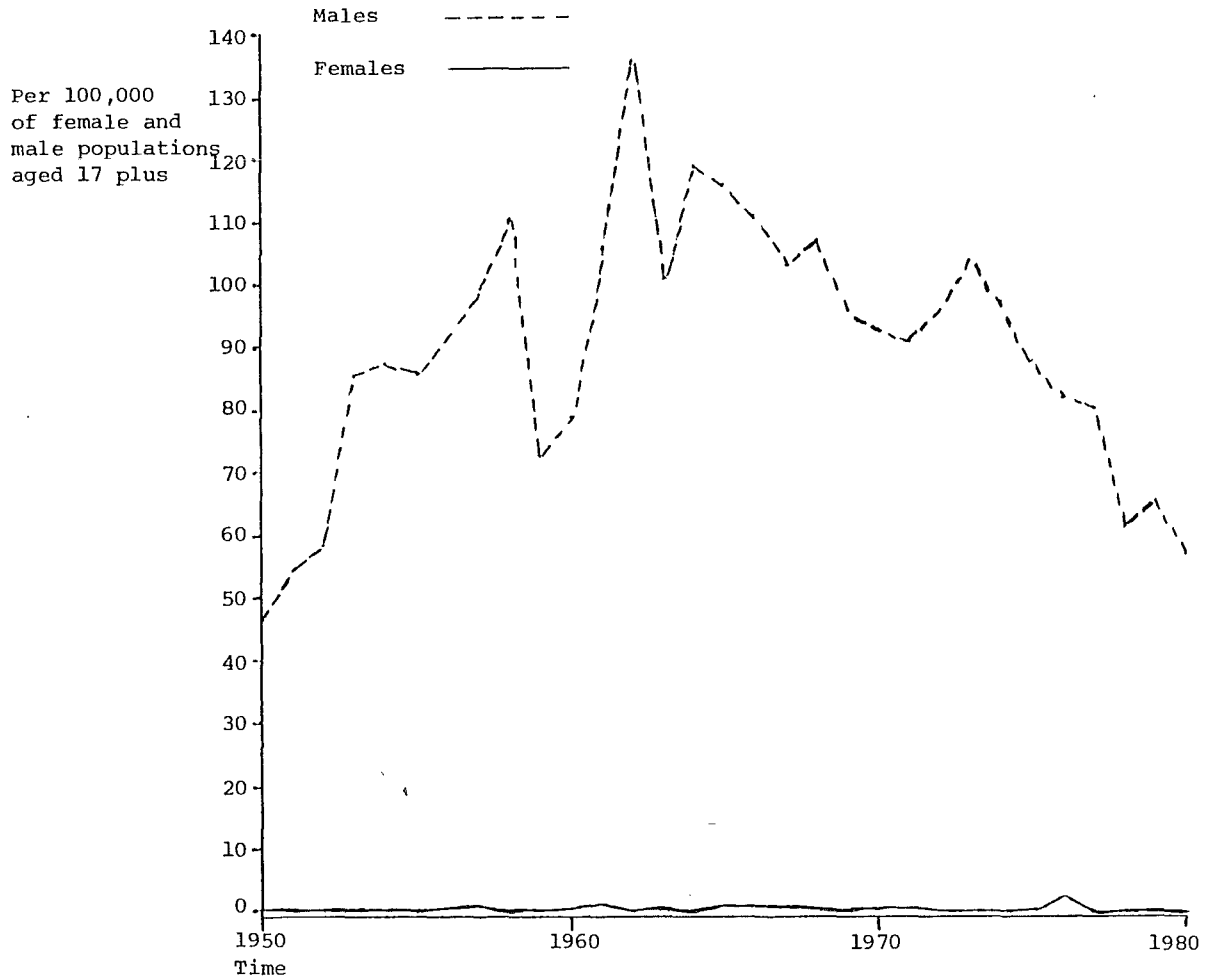


FIG. 4.5. - SEX OFFENCES - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) DISTRICT COURT



(2) CHILDREN'S COURT

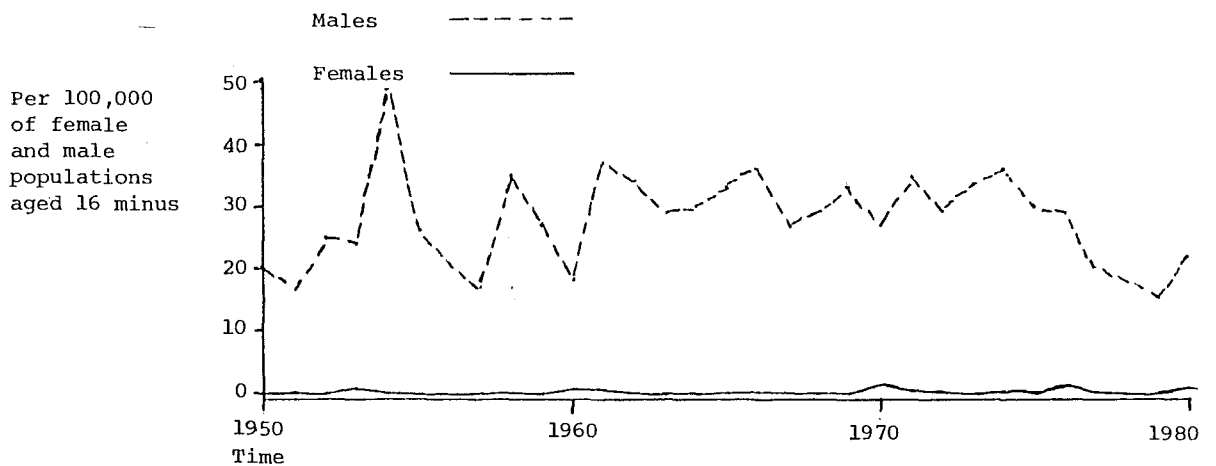


FIG. 4.6. - BIGAMY - TOTAL CHARGES

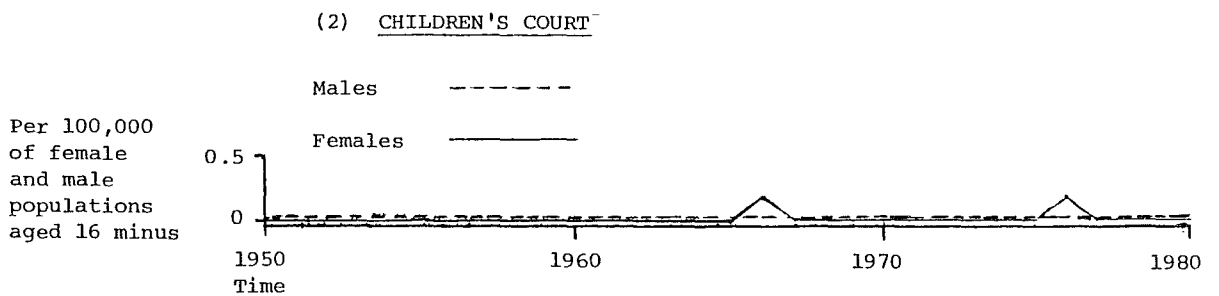
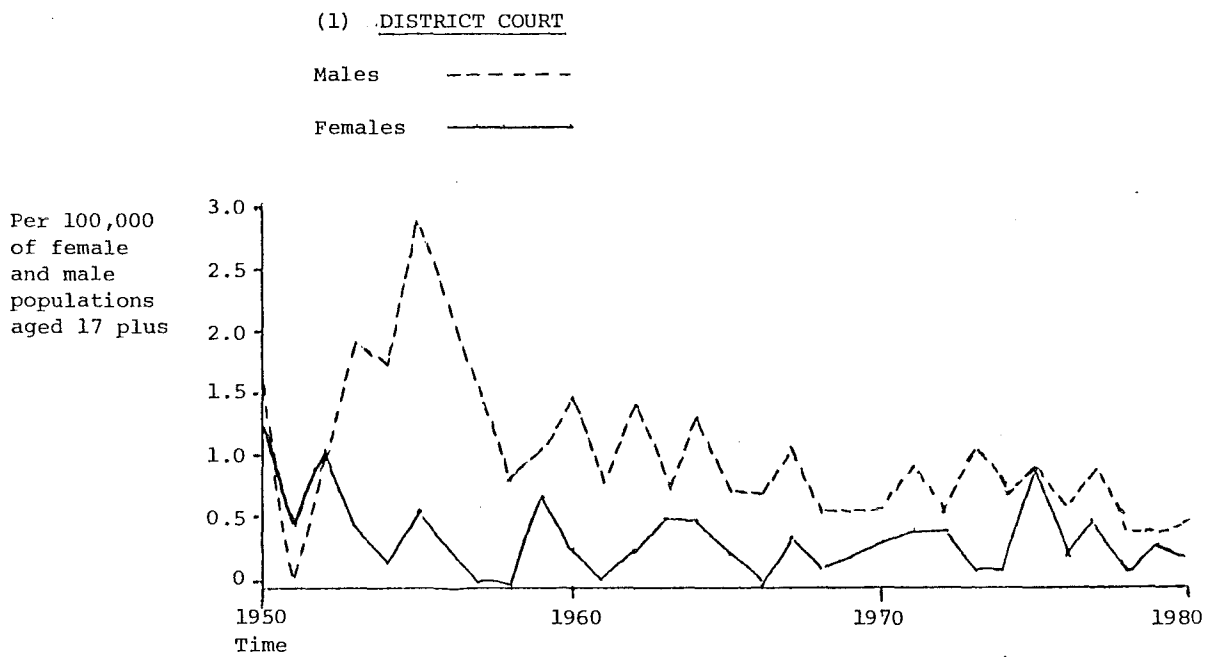


FIG. 4.7. - ROBBERY - TOTAL CHARGES

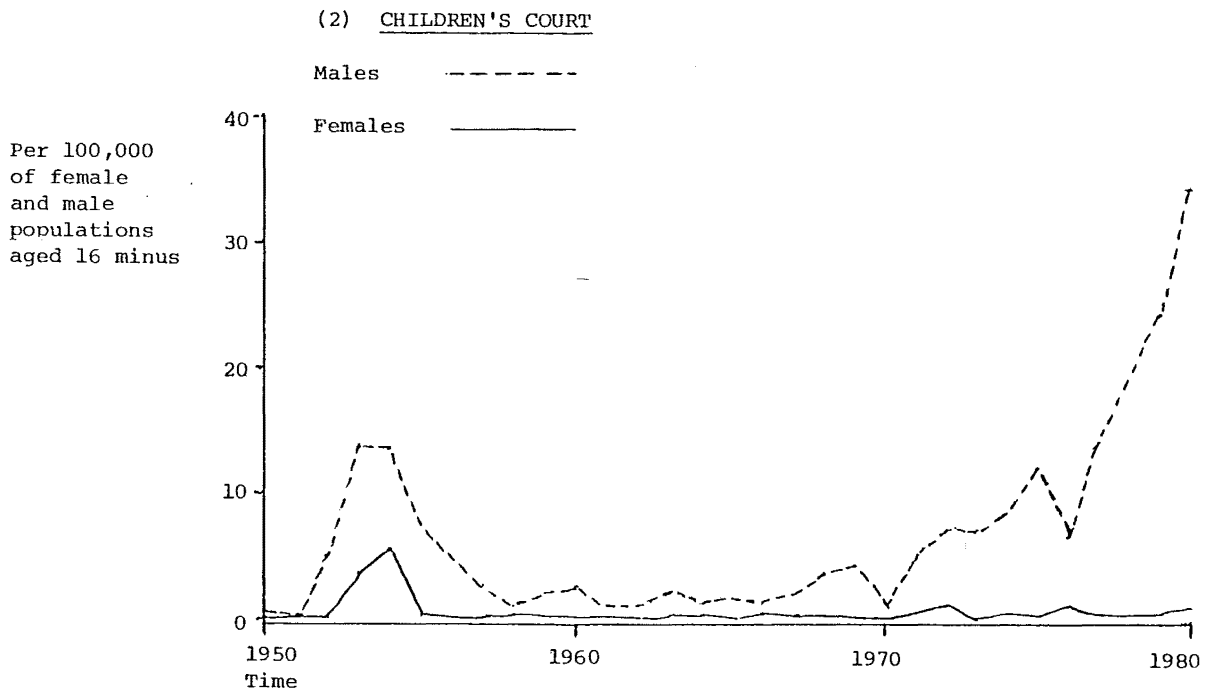
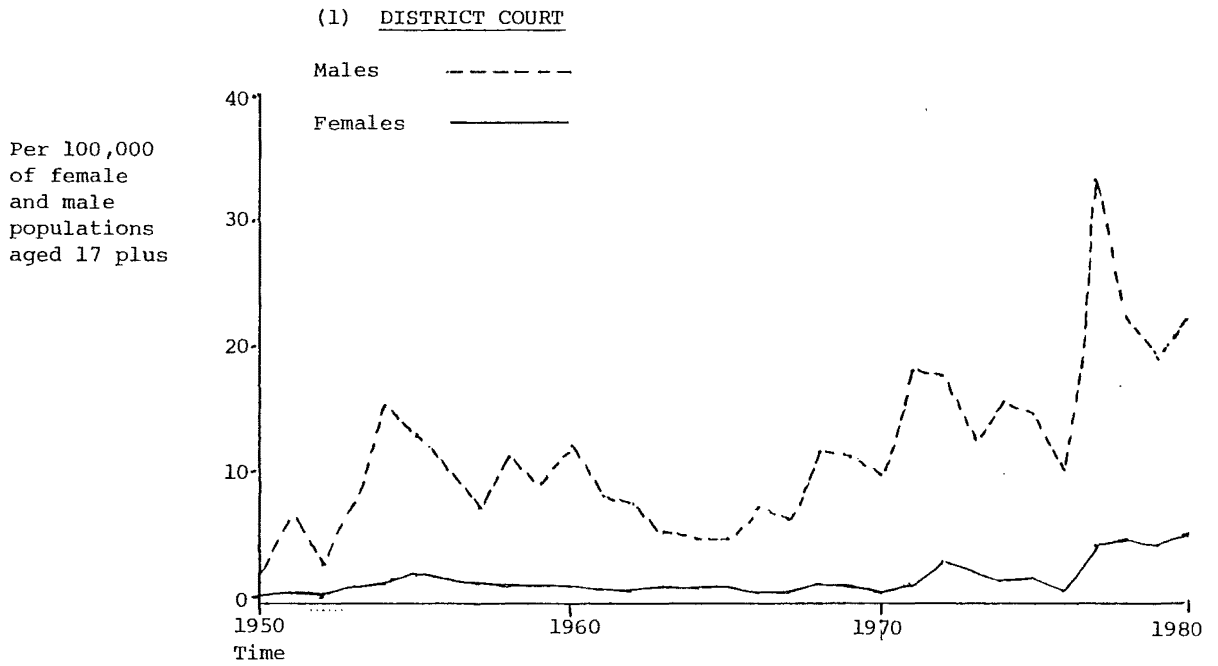


FIG. 4.8. - ABORTION - TOTAL CHARGES

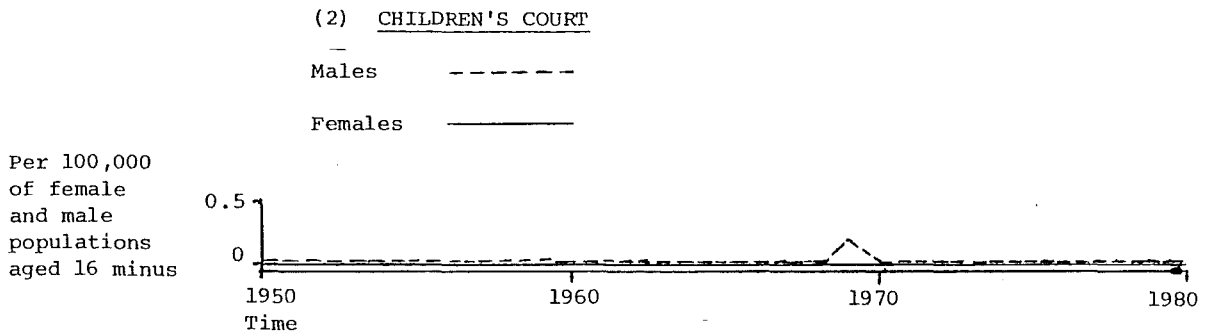
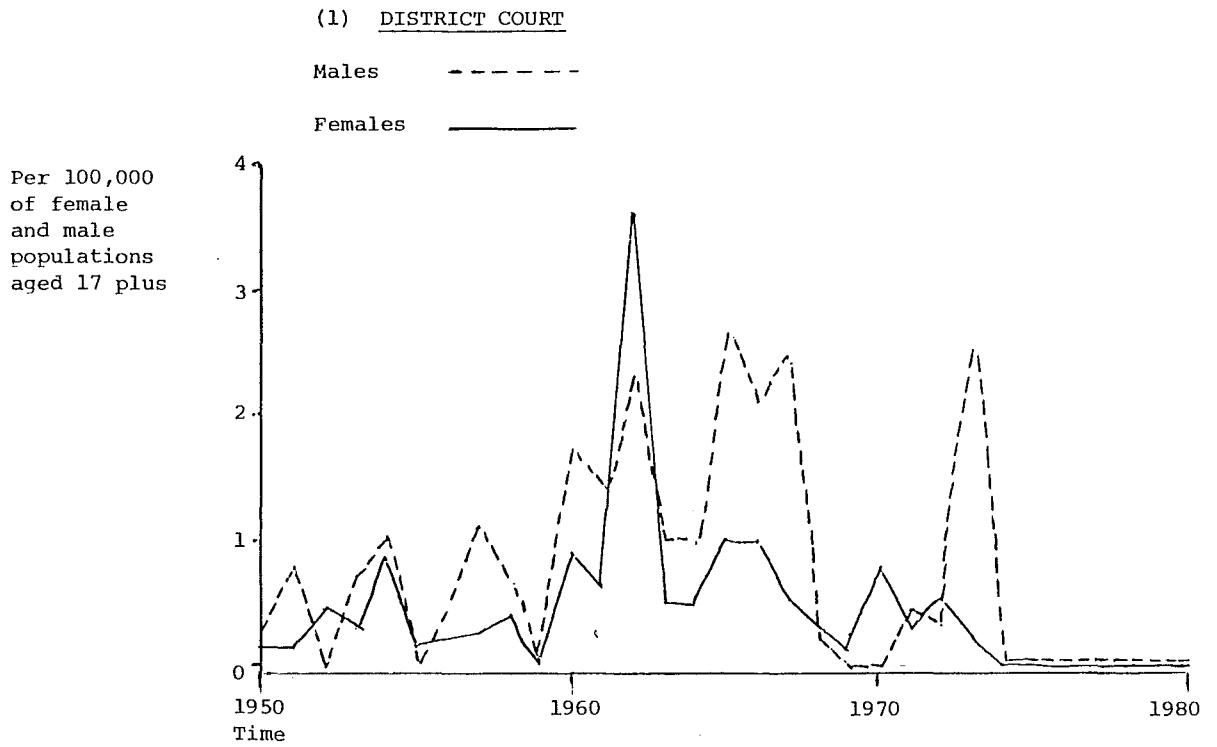


FIG. 4.9. - INFANTICIDE - TOTAL CHARGES

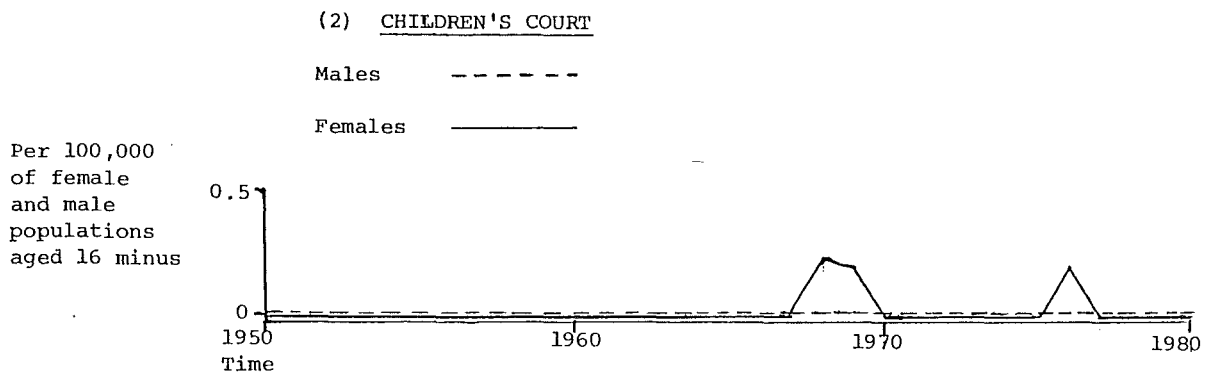
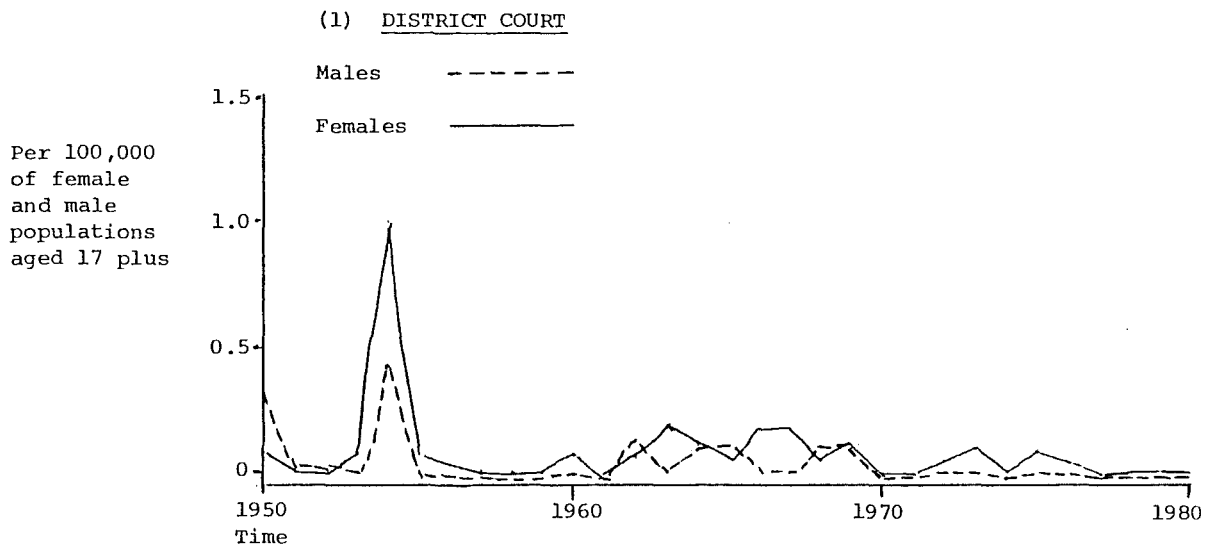


FIG. 4.10. - CRUELTY TO CHILDREN - TOTAL CHARGES

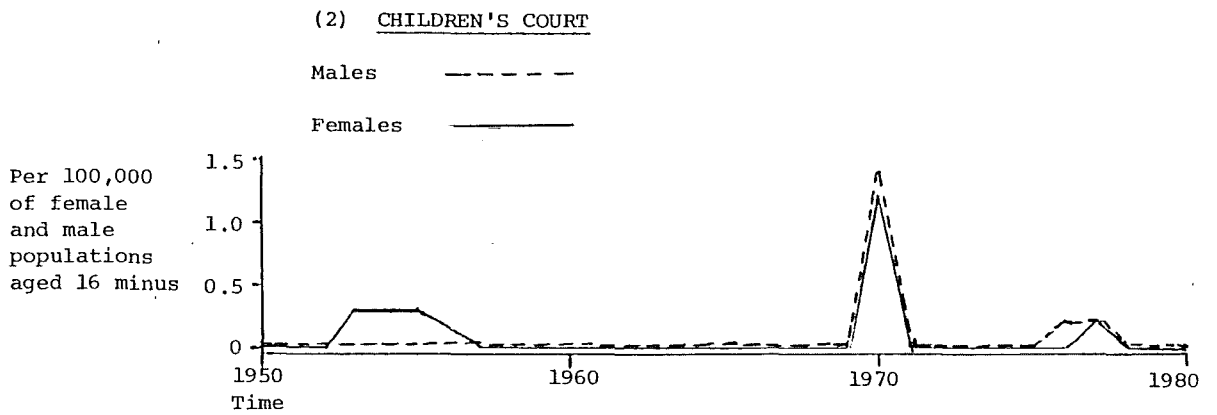
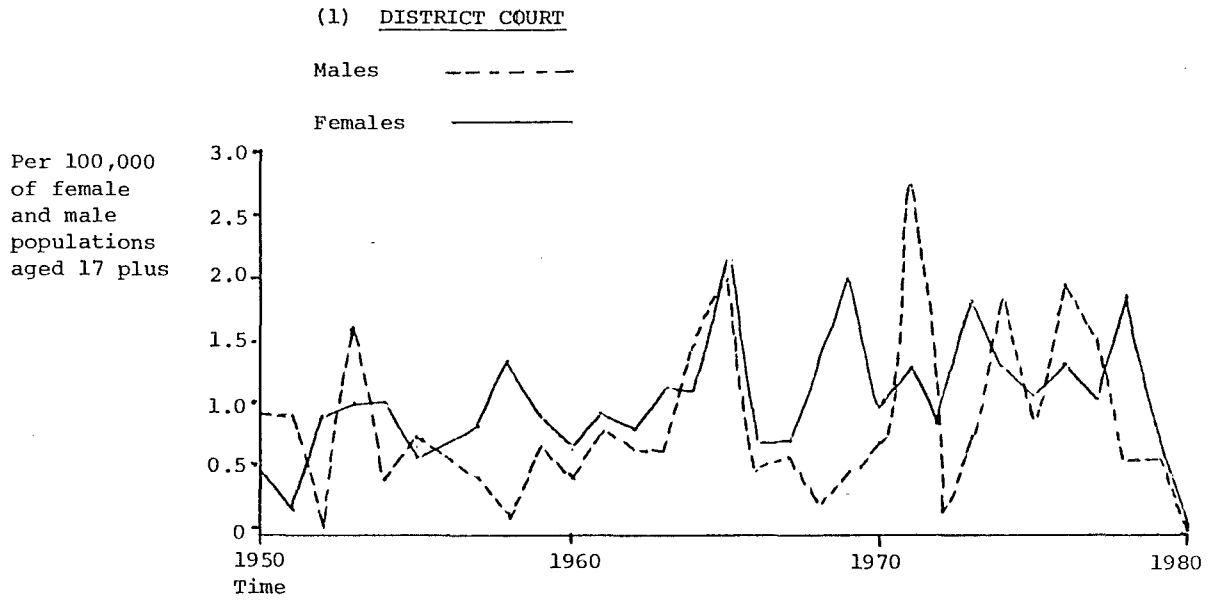
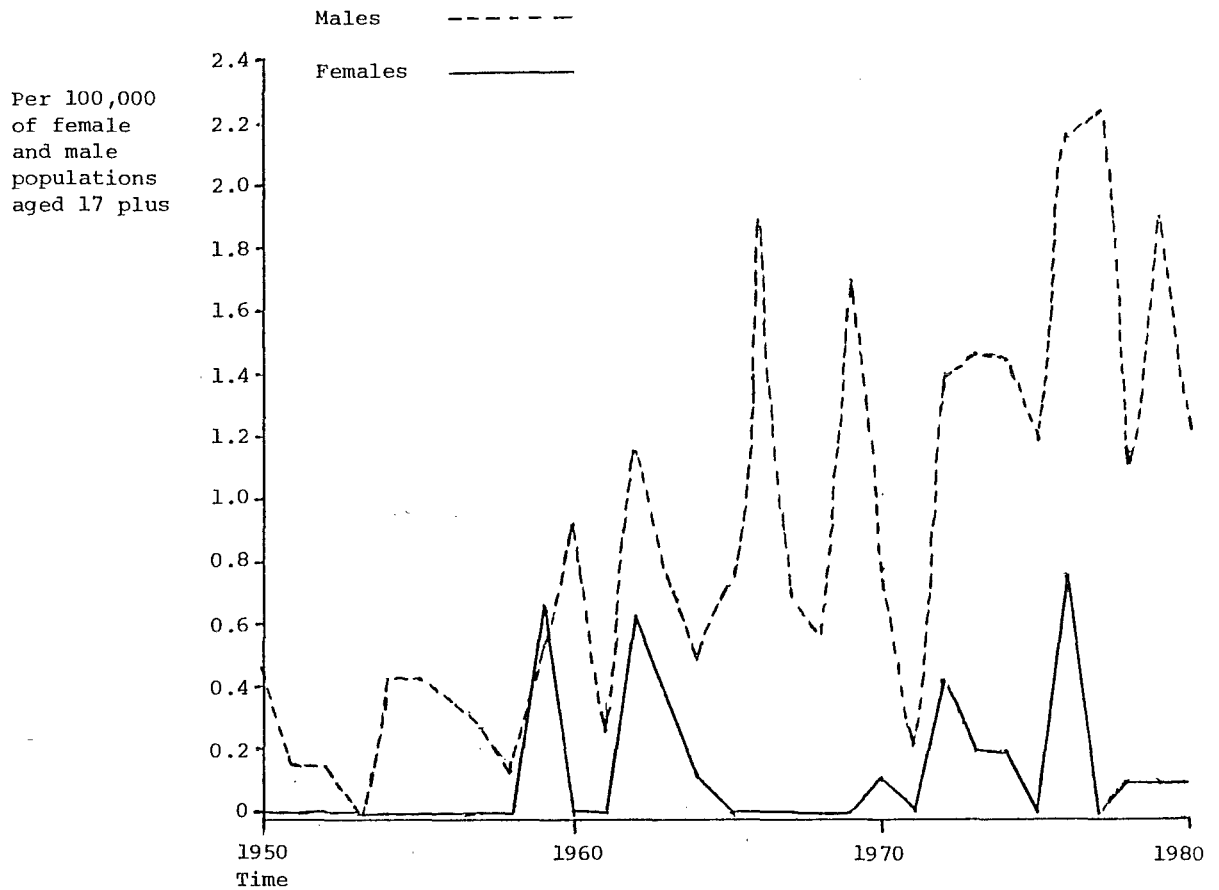


FIG. 4.11. - KIDNAPPING - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) DISTRICT COURT



(2) CHILDREN'S COURT

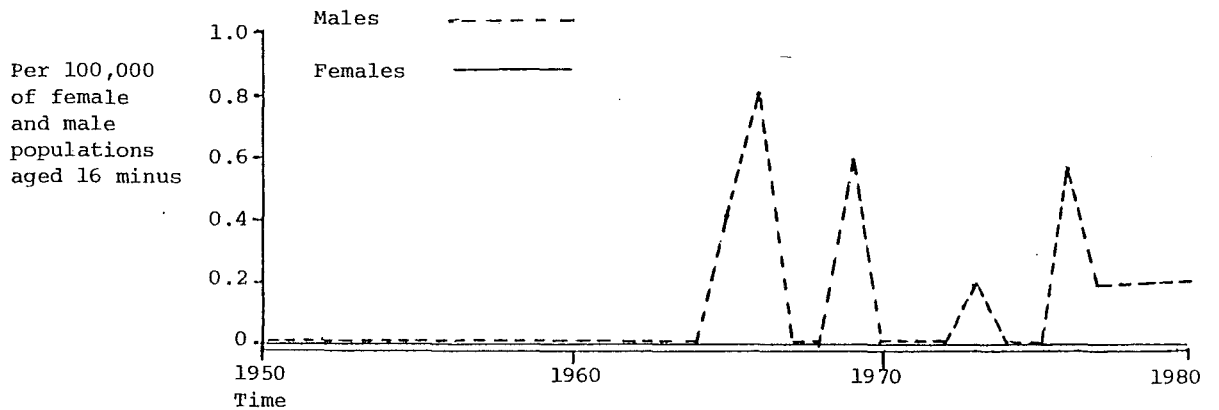
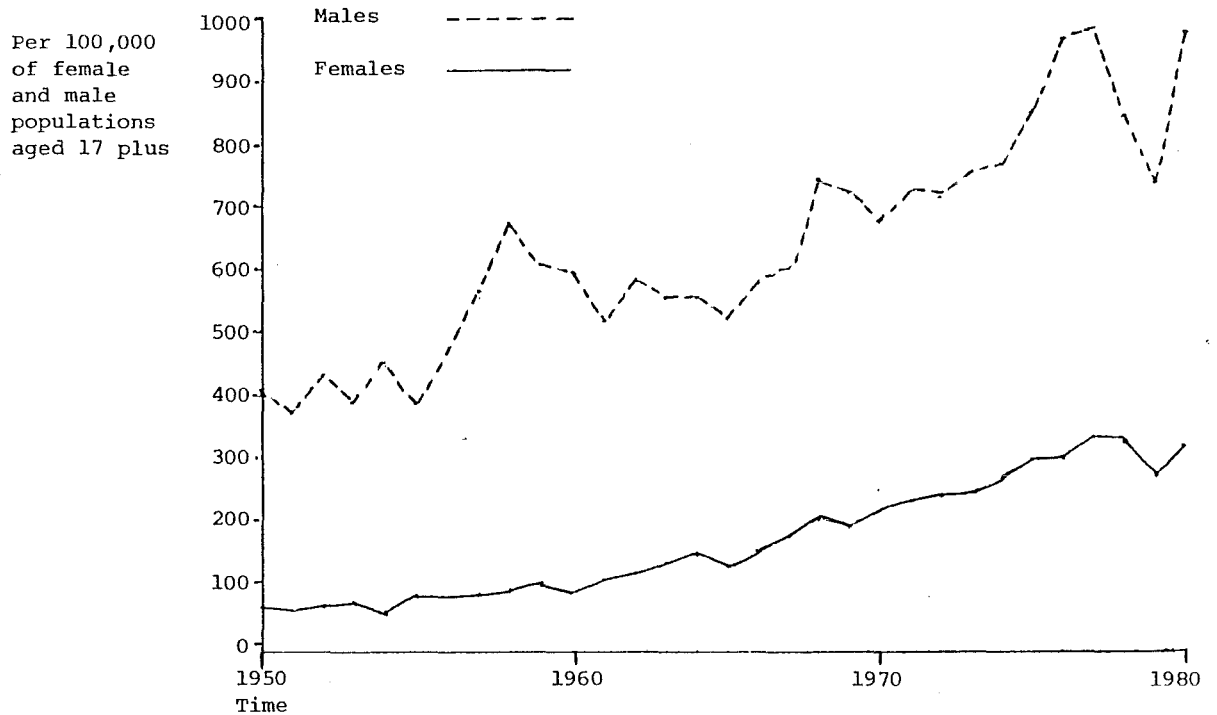


FIG. 4.12. - THEFT - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) DISTRICT COURT



(2) CHILDREN'S COURT

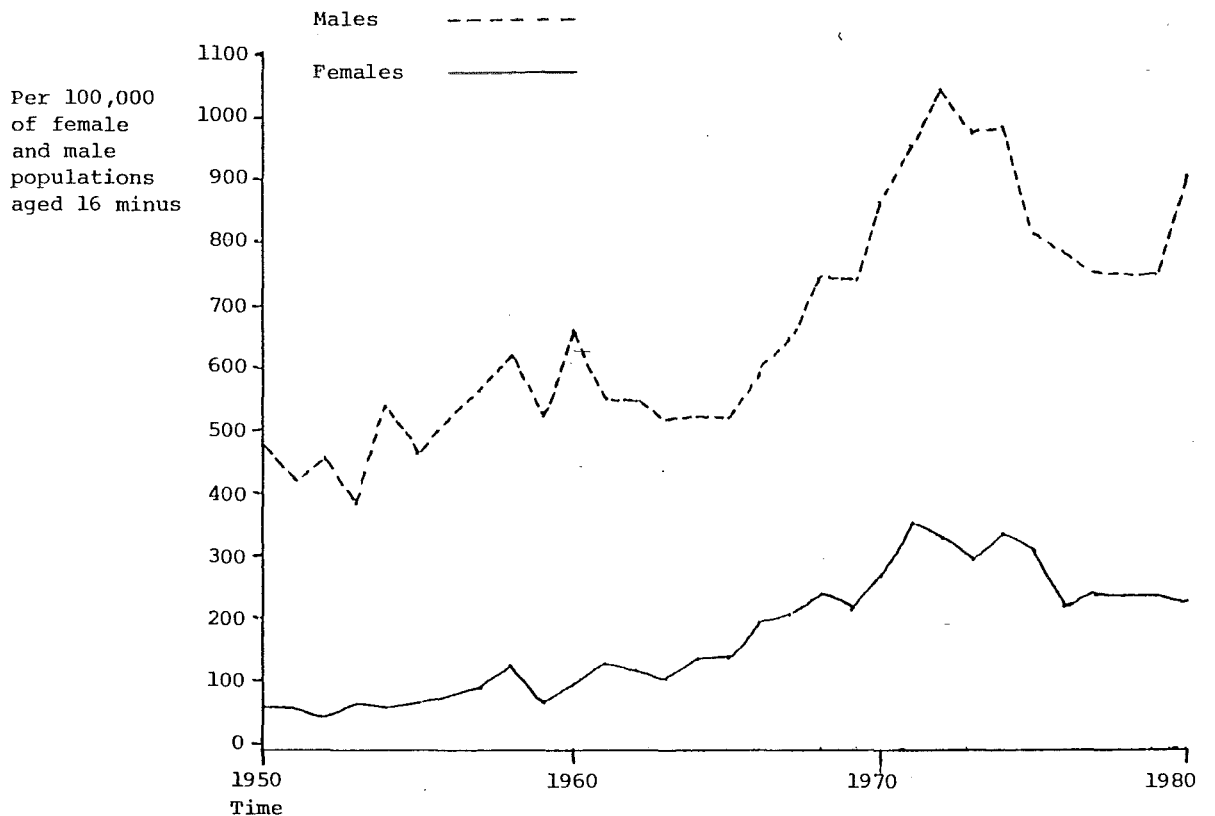


FIG. 4.13. - BURGLARY - TOTAL CHARGES

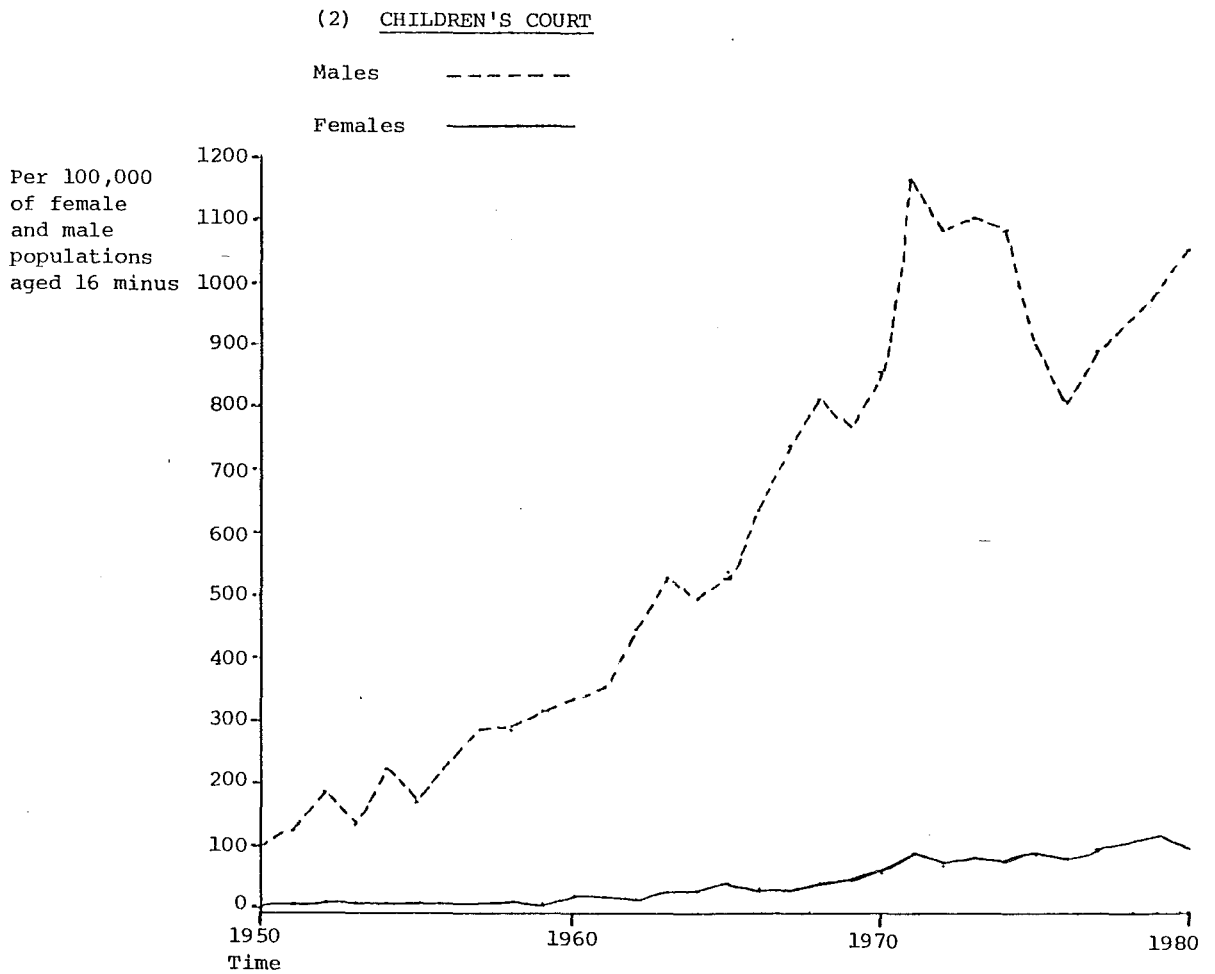
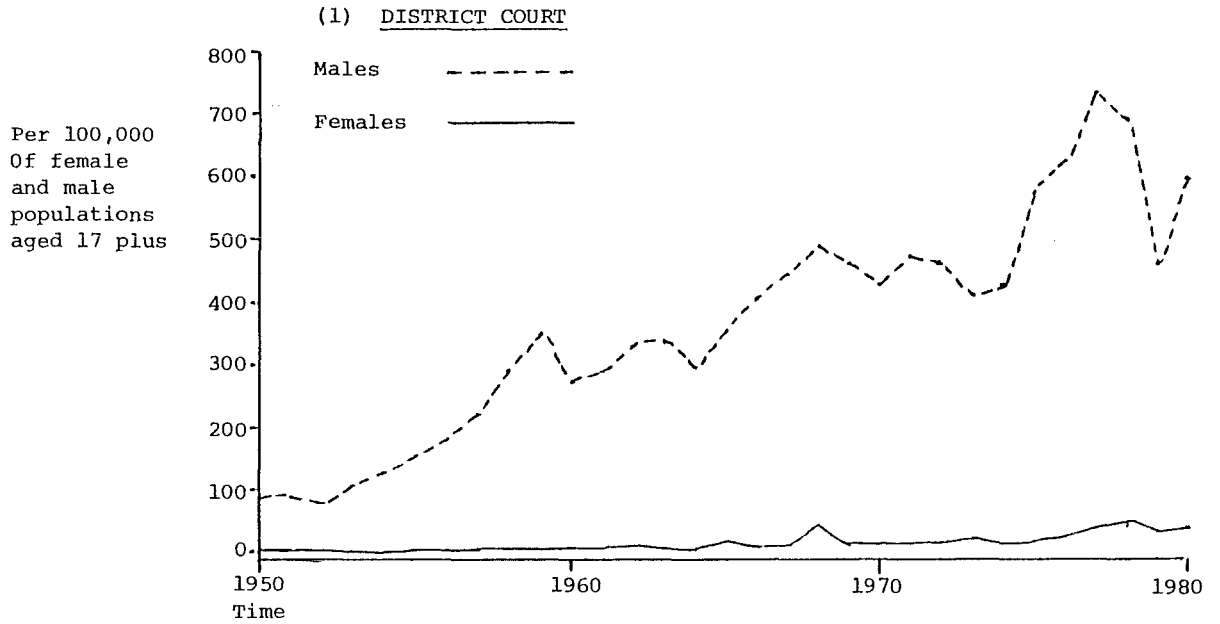
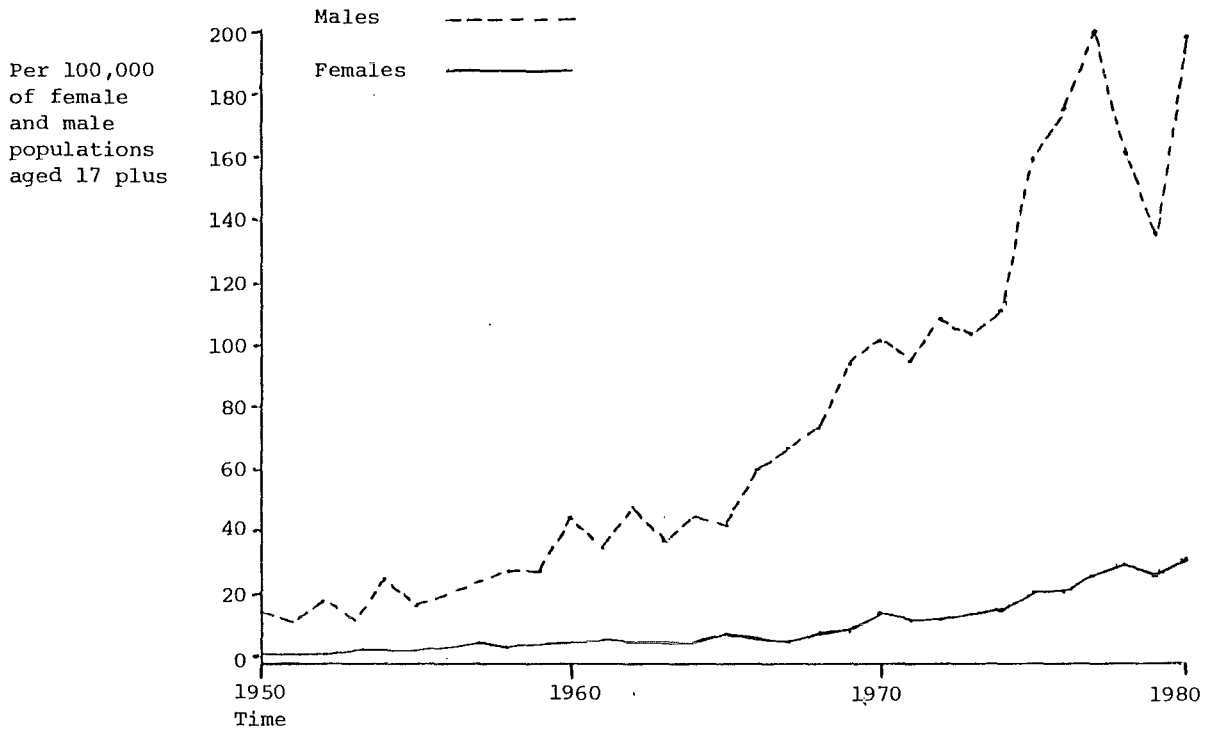


FIG. 4.14. - RECEIVING - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) DISTRICT COURT



(2) CHILDREN'S COURT

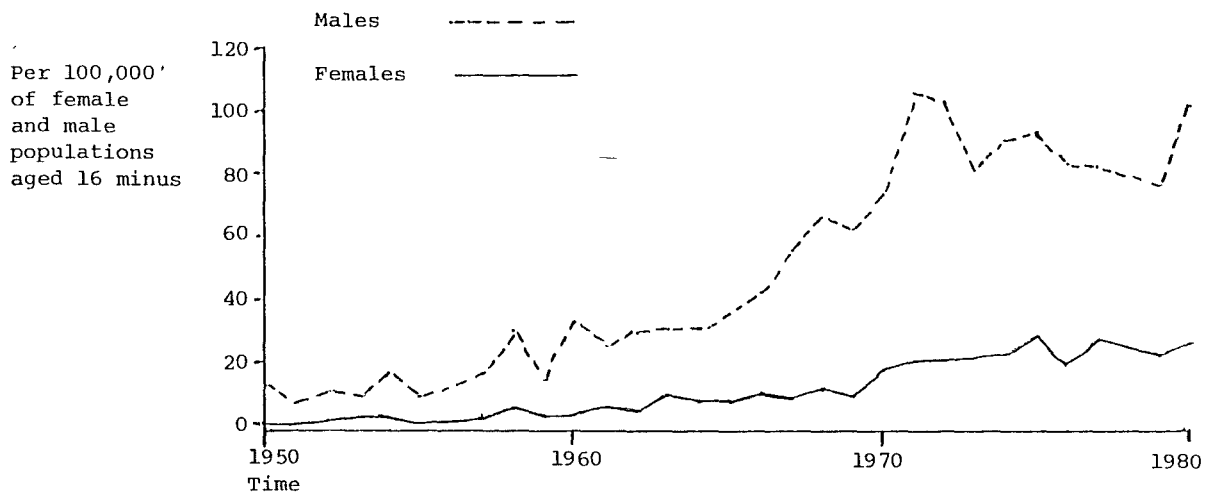


FIG. 4.15. - FRAUD - TOTAL CHARGES

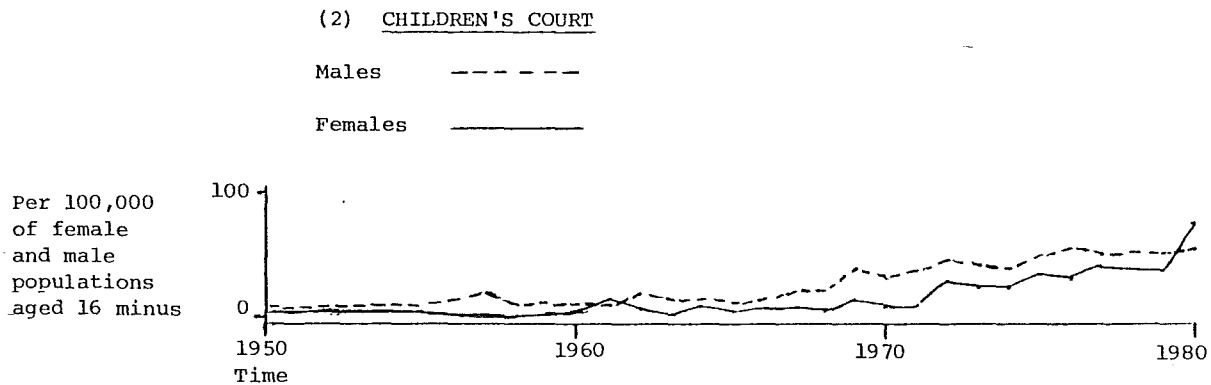
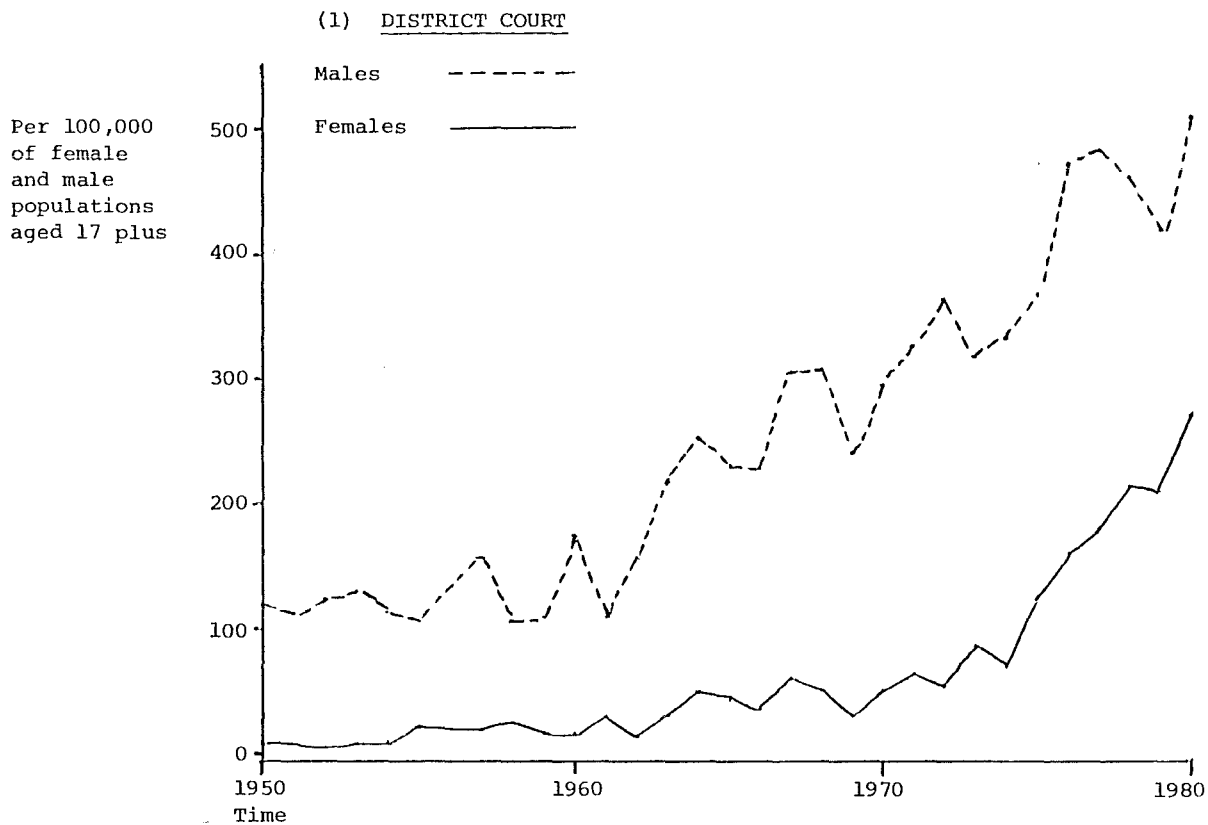


FIG. 4.16. - DAMAGE - TOTAL CHARGES

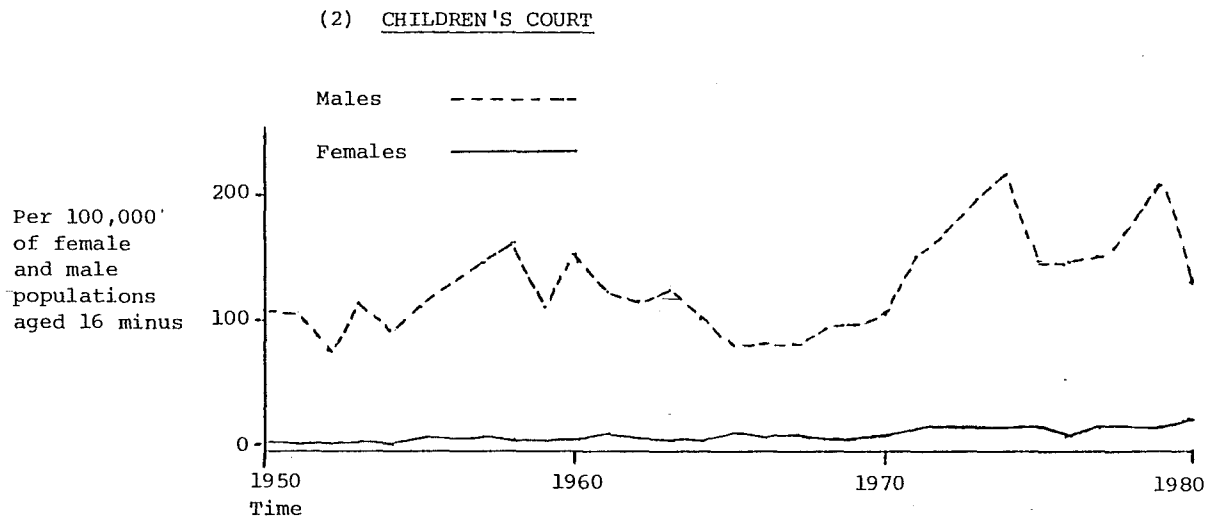
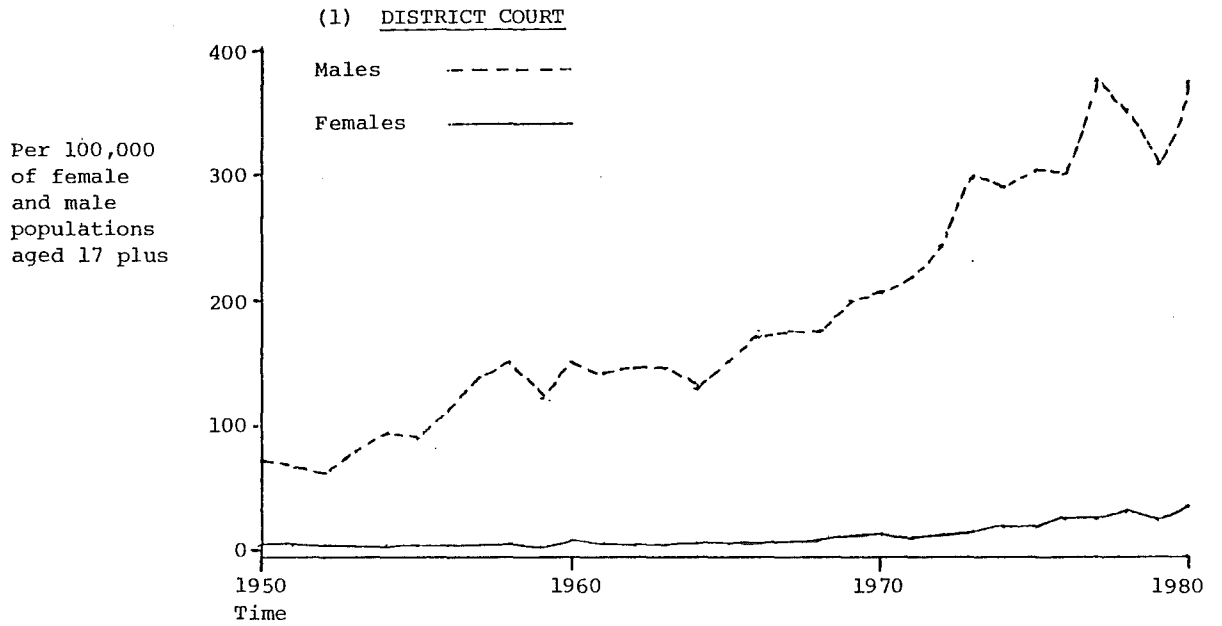


FIG. 4.17. - FORGERY - TOTAL CHARGES

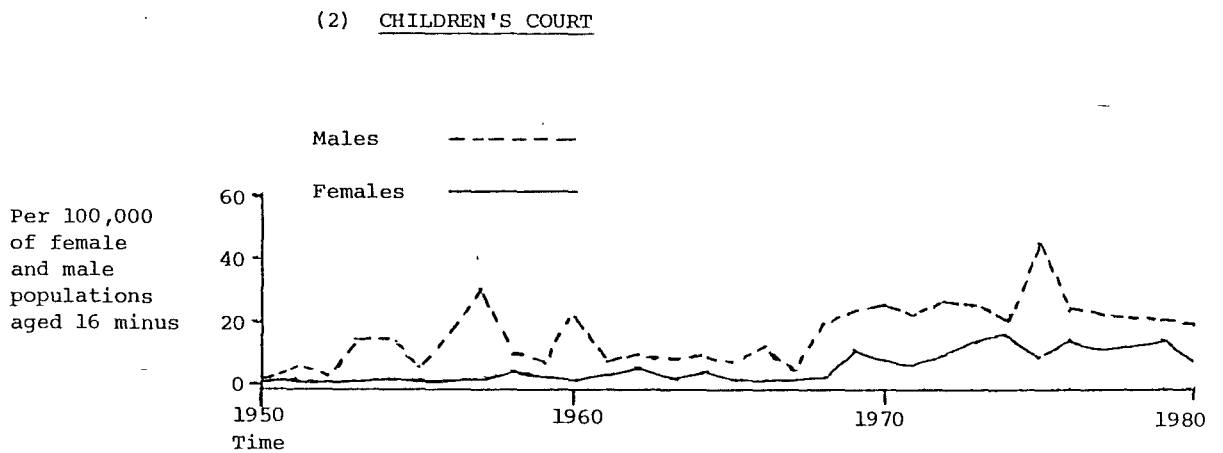
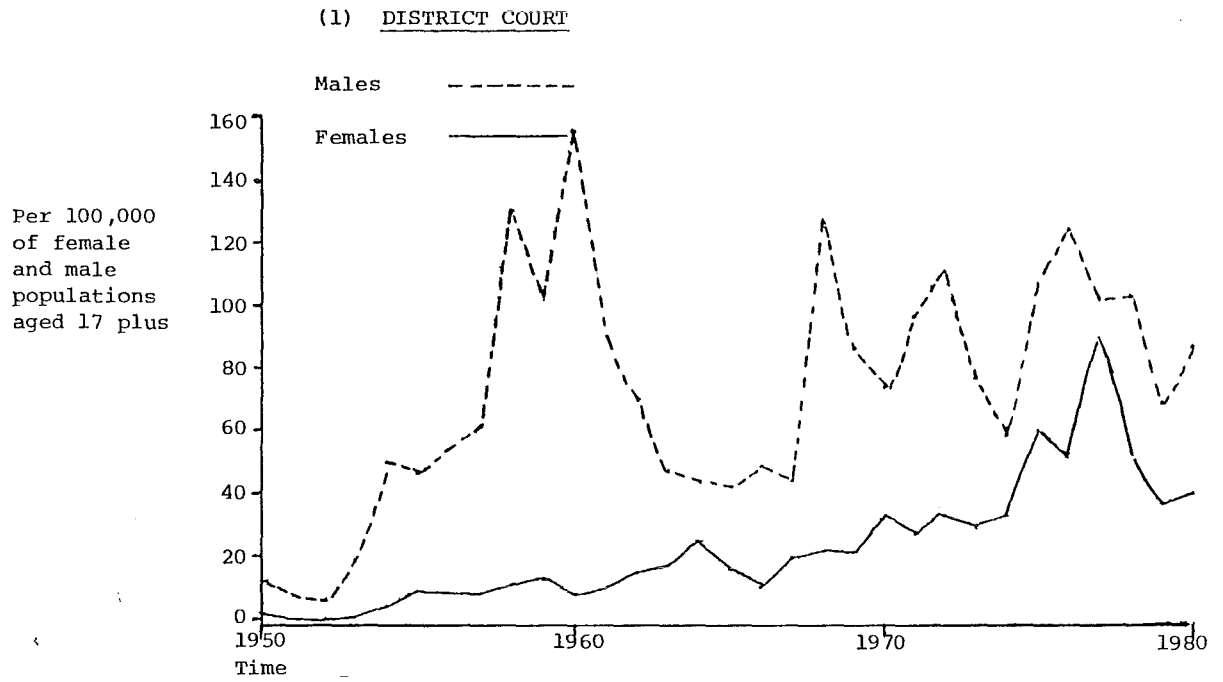
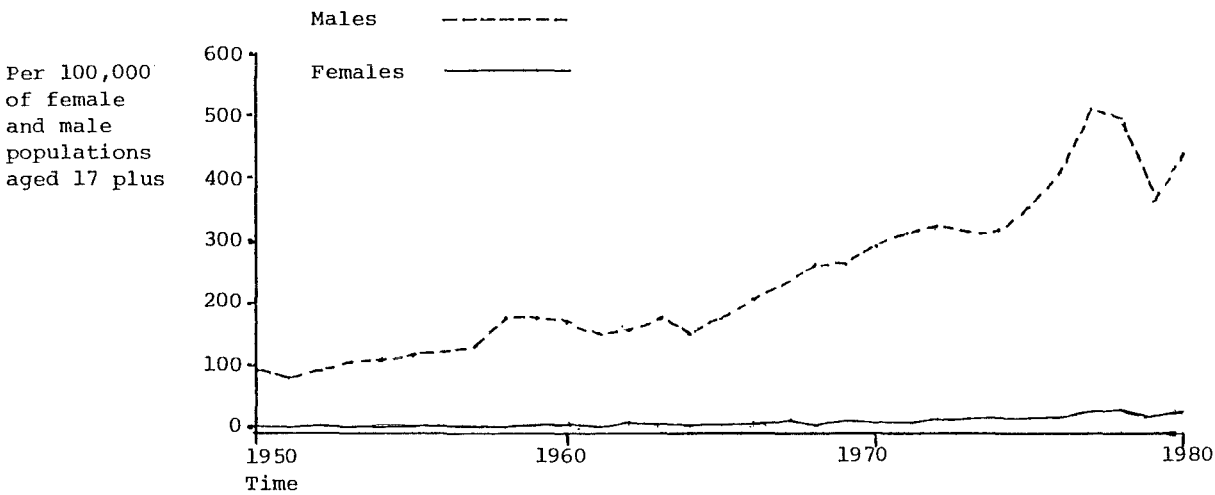


FIG. 4.18. - CONVERSION - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) DISTRICT COURT



(2) CHILDREN'S COURT

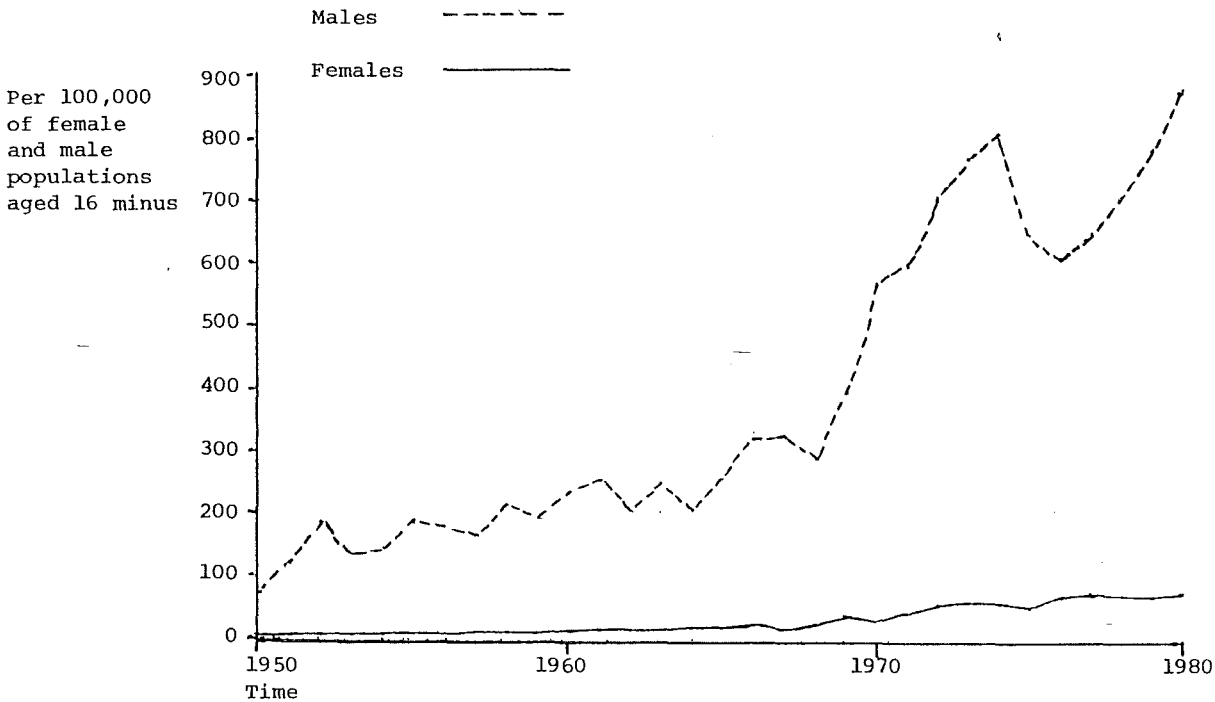
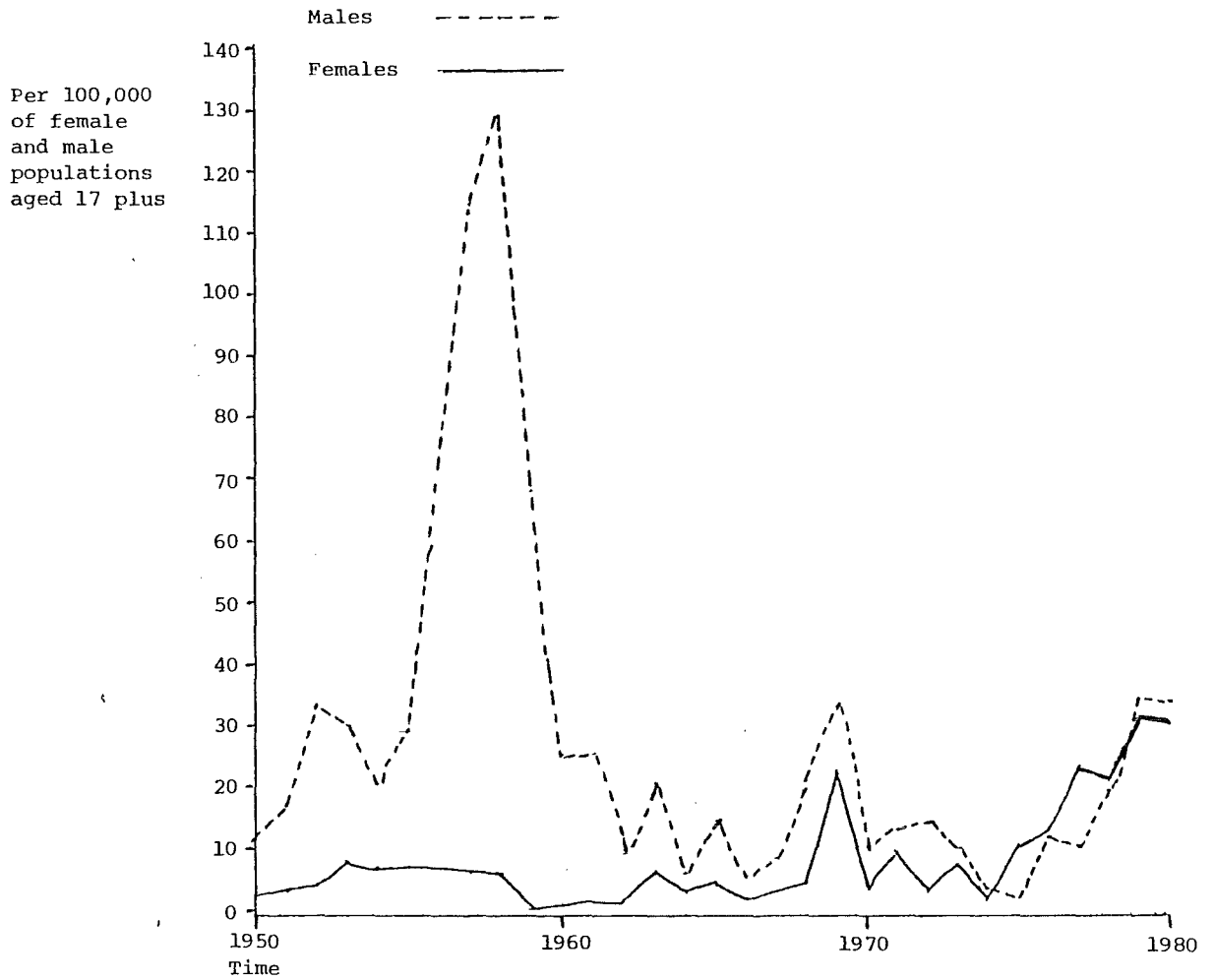


FIG. 4.19. - SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) DISTRICT COURT



(2) CHILDREN'S COURT

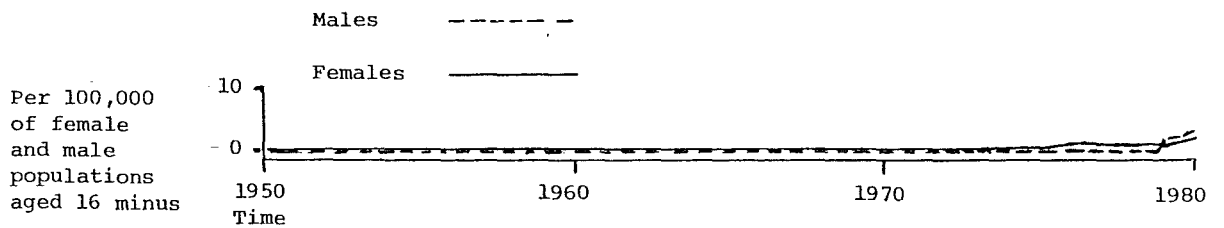
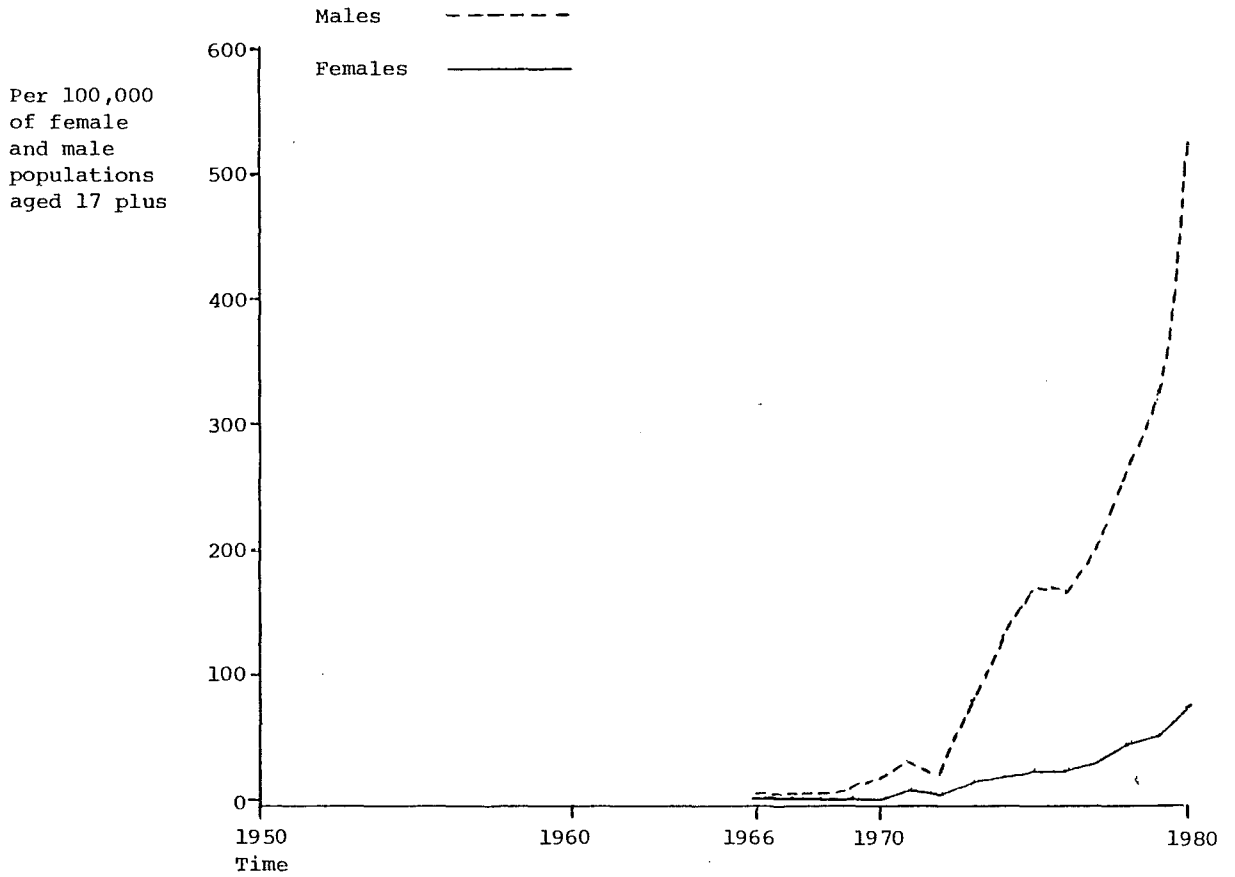


FIG. 4.20. - CANNABIS - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) DISTRICT COURT



(2) CHILDREN'S COURT

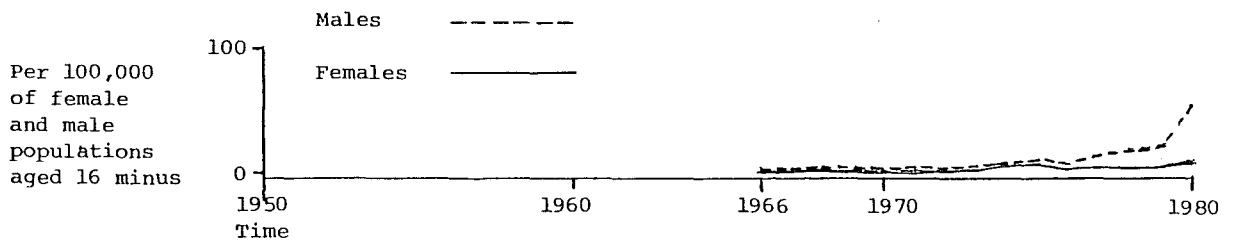
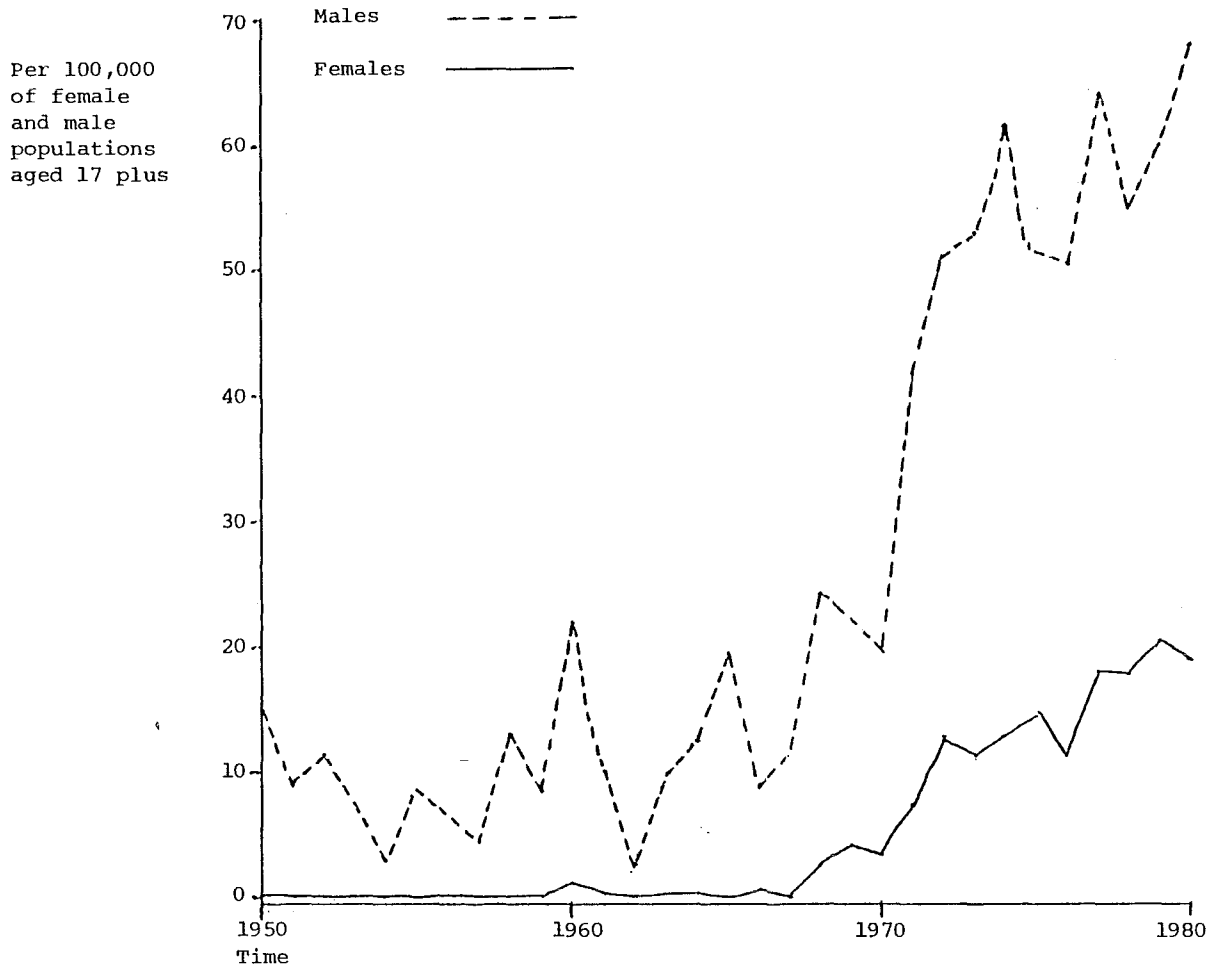


FIG. 4.21. - DRUGS (OTHER) - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) DISTRICT COURT



(2) CHILDREN'S COURT

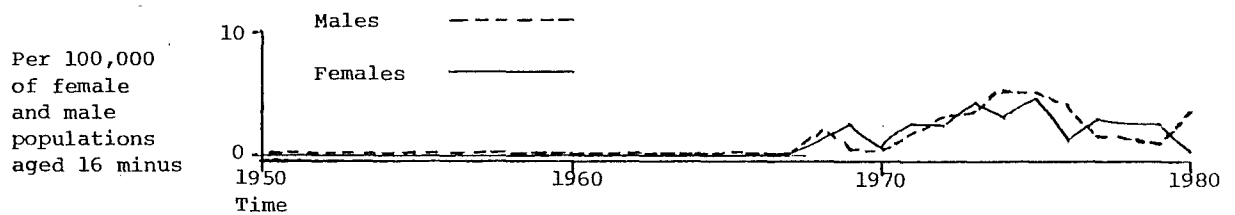
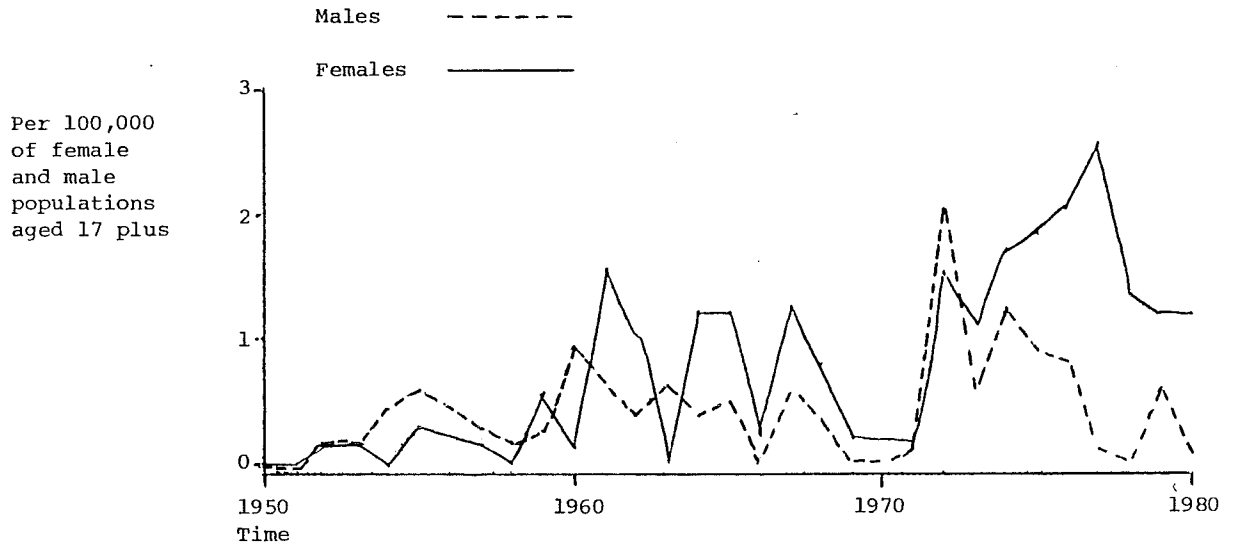


FIG. 4.22. - PROSTITUTION - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) DISTRICT COURT



(2) CHILDREN'S COURT

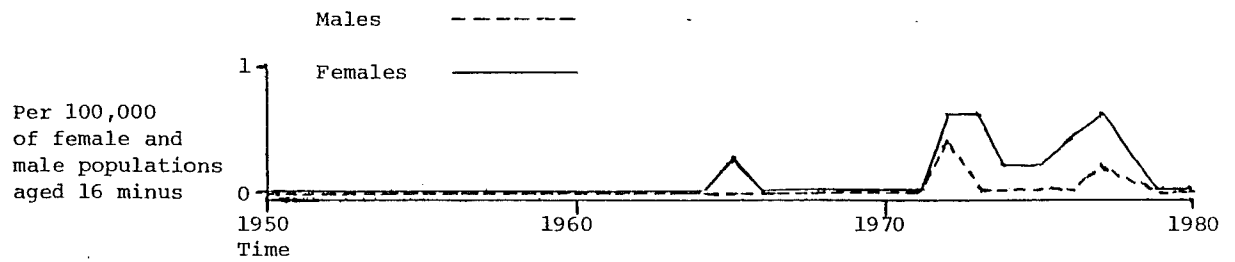


FIG. 4.23. - INDIGENT CHILD - TOTAL CHARGES

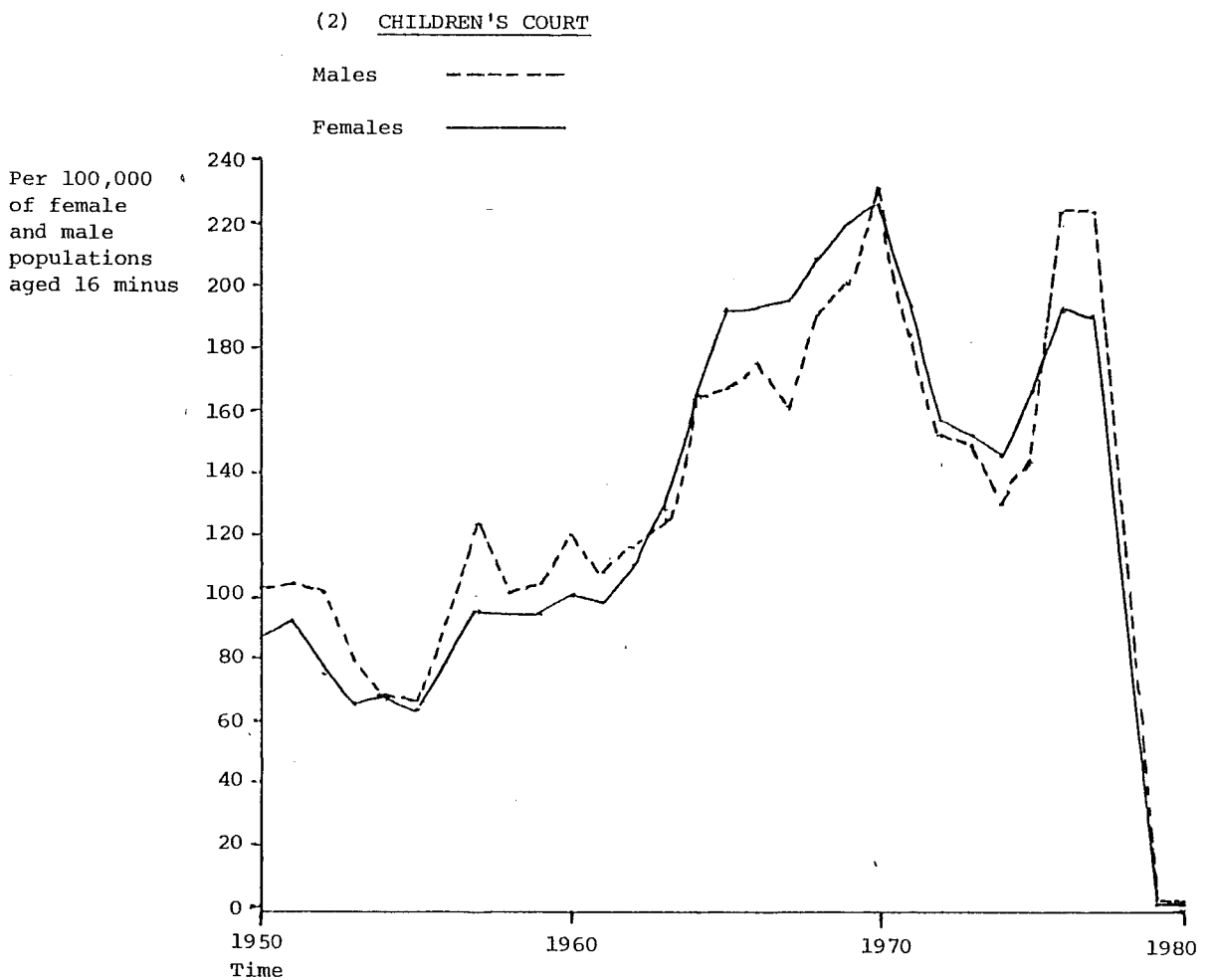
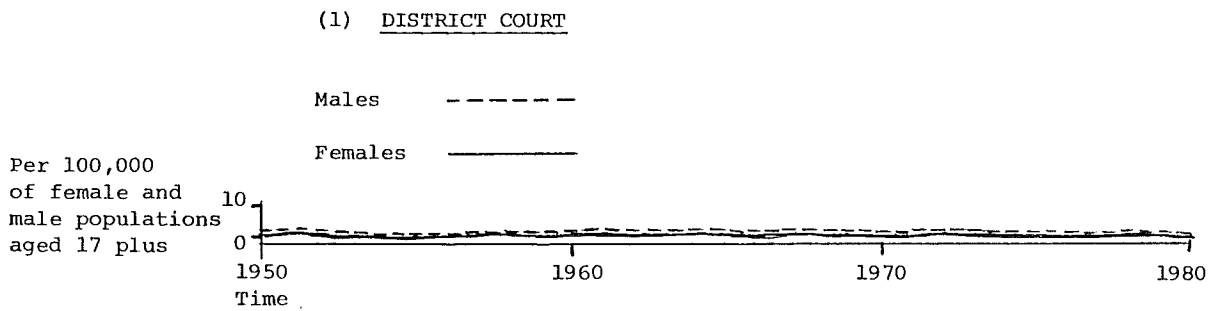
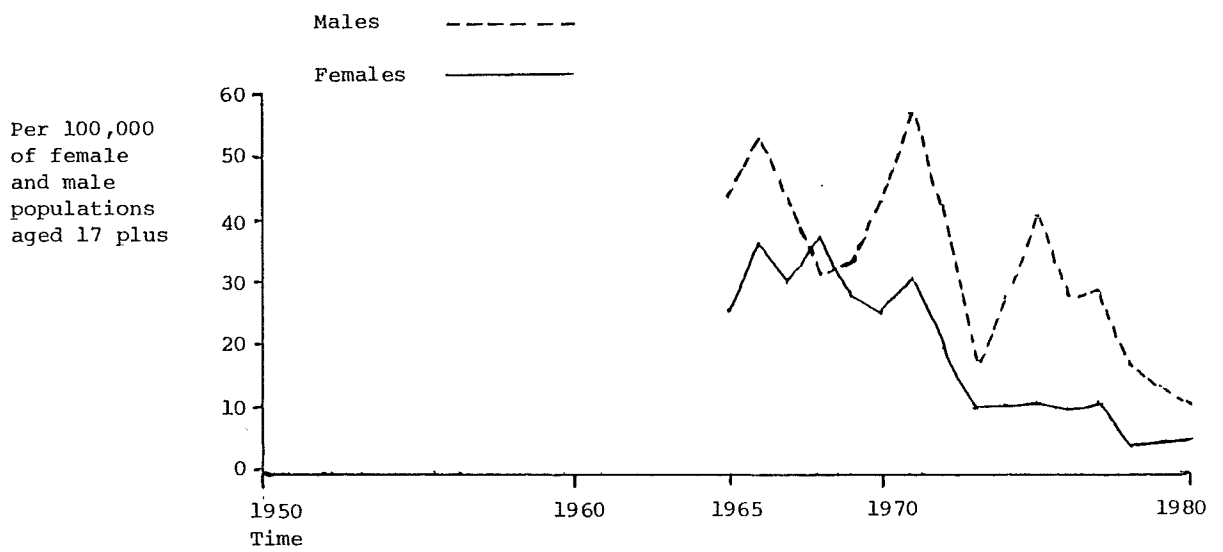


FIG. 4.24. - IDLE AND DISORDERLY - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) DISTRICT COURT



(2) CHILDREN'S COURT

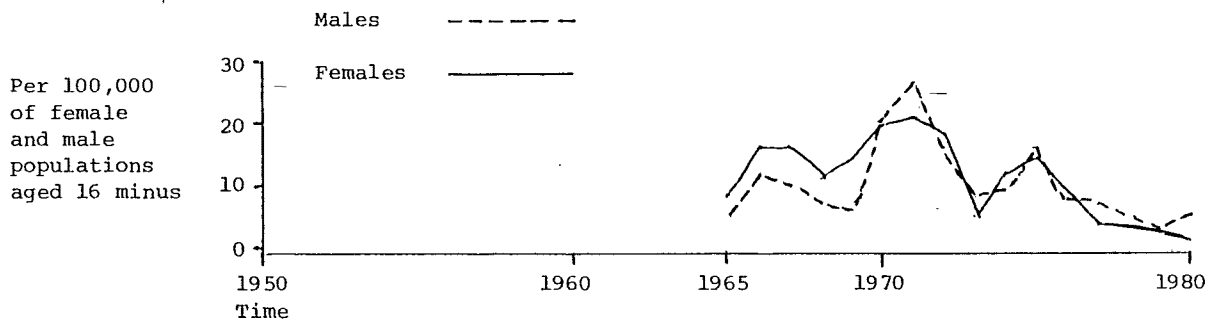
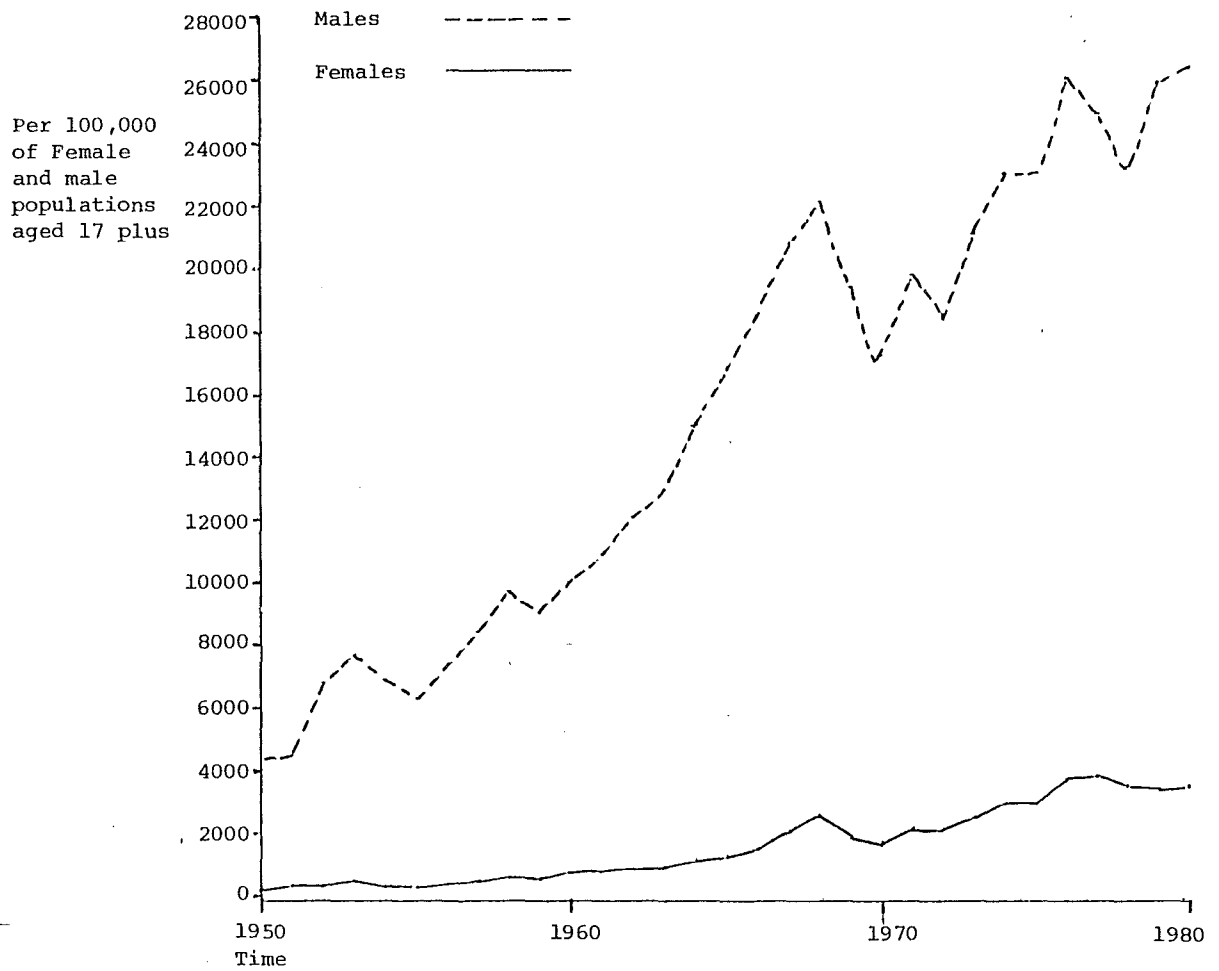


FIG. 4.25. - TRAFFIC (MINOR) - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) DISTRICT COURT



(2) CHILDREN'S COURT

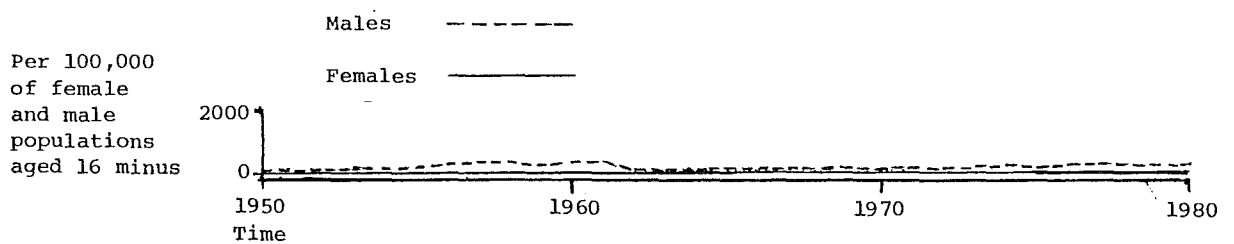
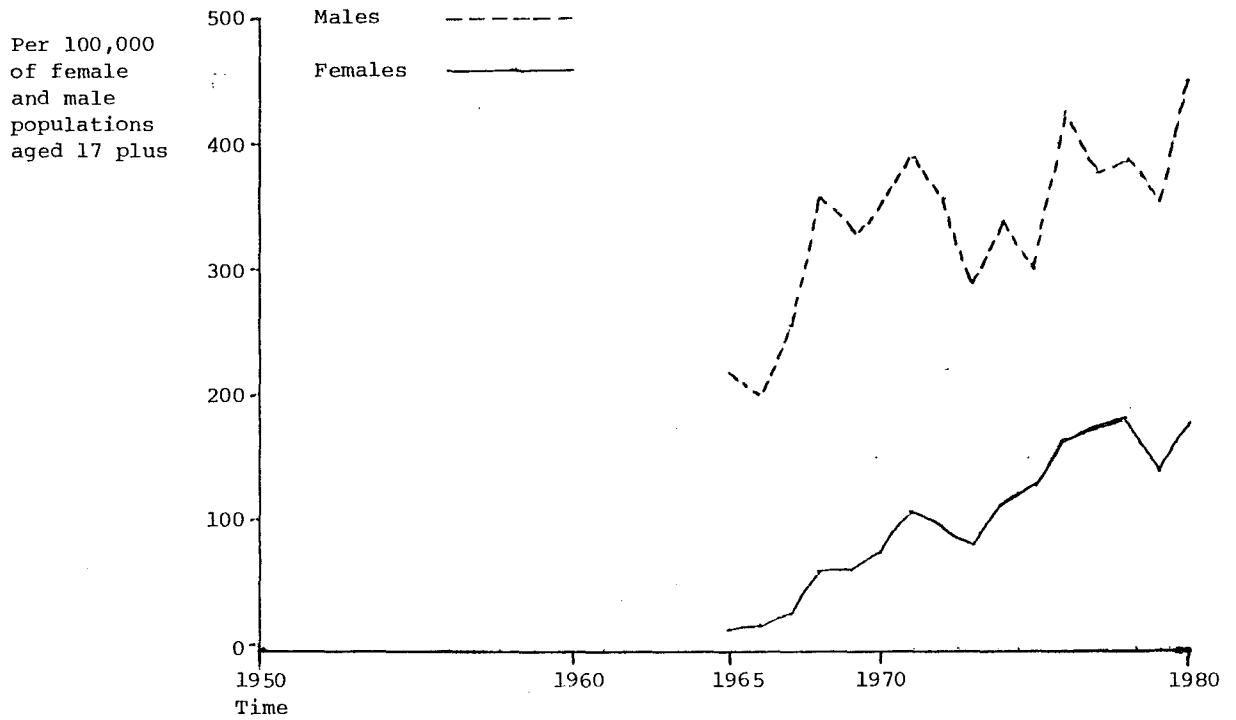


FIG. 4.26. - MINORS FOUND IN BARS - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) DISTRICT COURT



(2) CHILDREN'S COURT

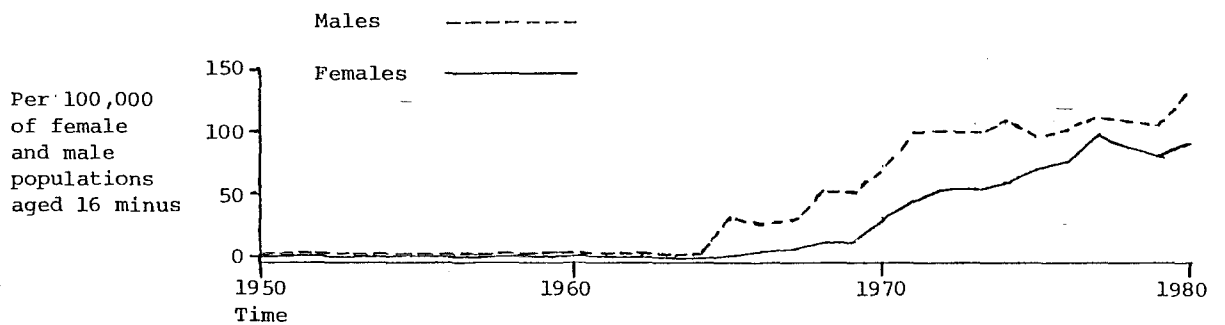


TABLE 4.1. - PERCENT FEMALE CONTRIBUTIONS (%FCS)

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>DISTRICT COURT</u>		<u>CHILDREN'S COURT</u>	
	<u>TOTAL CHARGES</u>		<u>TOTAL CHARGES</u>	
	<u>1950-52</u> <u>averaged</u>	<u>1978-80</u> <u>averaged</u>	<u>1950-52</u> <u>averaged</u>	<u>1979-80***</u> <u>averaged</u>
<u>OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON</u>				
WOUNDING	14.3	7.6	0.0	28.6
TRAFFIC (SERIOUS)	2.2	10.2	0.0	10.7
ASSAULT	2.8	7.6	1.1	18.0
ROBBERY	1.5	18.0	0.0	19.4
<u>PROPERTY OFFENCES</u>				
THEFT	12.9	26.9	9.9	21.2
FRAUD	5.7	34.1	35.9	50.6
FORGERY	4.3	34.3	15.4	33.9
SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	13.0	49.2	- *	12.4
BURGLARY	1.5	6.3	3.0	9.0
RECEIVING	7.6	15.7	4.3	20.9
DAMAGE	4.8	8.2	0.9	9.3
CONVERSION	0.3	5.2	2.9	7.0
<u>VICTIMLESS OFFENCES</u>				
CANNABIS	17.3*	13.3	- *	12.4
DRUGS (OTHER)	0.4	24.4	-	35.3
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	4.2	12.4	-	39.1
MINORS FOUND IN BARS	7.8**	30.0	20.0**	41.2

* 1966-68

** 1965-67

*** No Children's Court data published for 1978

- No charges against either sex in these years

TABLE 4.2. - ABSOLUTE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FEMALE AND MALE OFFENCE RATES
CHANGES OCCURRING BETWEEN 1950 and 1980

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>DISTRICT COURT</u>	<u>CHILDREN'S COURT</u>
<u>OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON</u>		
WOUNDING	Increasing	<u>Decreasing</u>
TRAFFIC (SERIOUS)	Increasing	Increasing
ASSAULT	Increasing	Increasing
ROBBERY	Increasing	Increasing
<u>PROPERTY OFFENCES</u>		
THEFT	Increasing	Increasing
FRAUD	<u>Decreasing</u>	<u>Decreasing</u>
FORGERY	<u>Decreasing</u>	Increasing
SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	<u>Decreasing</u>	<u>Decreasing</u>
BURGLARY	Increasing	Increasing
RECEIVING	Increasing	Increasing
DAMAGE	Increasing	Unchanged
CONVERSION	Increasing	Increasing
<u>VICTIMLESS OFFENCES</u>		
CANNABIS	Increasing	Increasing
DRUGS (OTHER)	Increasing	<u>Decreasing</u>
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	Increasing	Increasing
MINORS FOUND IN BARS	Unchanged	Unchanged

TABLE 4.3. - OFFENCE PROFILES (DISTRICT COURT):

(PERCENTAGE EACH OFFENCE CATEGORY CONTRIBUTES
TOWARDS THE TOTAL OFFENCE RATE FOR EACH SEX)

OFFENCE CATEGORY	1950-1952				1978-1980			
	Summed		Top ten		Summed		Top ten	
	averages as		offence		averages as		offence	
	percentage		categories		percentage		categories	
	of total		ranked		of total		ranked	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
<u>OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON</u>								
HOMICIDE	0.2	0.0	10=		0.0	0.0		
WOUNDING	0.1	0.0			0.0	0.0		
TRAFFIC (SERIOUS)	0.1	0.1			0.2	0.3		
ASSAULT	1.3	2.3	4	3	1.3	2.4	5	3
SEX OFFENCES	0.0	0.8		8	0.0	0.2		
BIGAMY	0.3	0.0	9		0.0	0.0		
ROBBERY	0.0	0.1			0.1	0.1		
ABORTION	0.1	0.0			0.0	0.0		
INFANTICIDE	0.0	0.0			0.0	0.0		
CRUELTY TO CHILDREN	0.2	0.0	10=		0.0	0.0		
KIDNAPPING	0.0	0.0			0.0	0.0		
<u>PROPERTY OFFENCES</u>								
THEFT	18.7	6.2	2	2	6.8	2.9	2	2
FRAUD	2.3	1.8	3	4	5.2	1.6	3	5
FORGERY	0.1	0.1			1.0	0.3	6	
SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	1.0	0.3	6	9	0.6	0.1	10	
BURGLARY	0.4	1.3	7	6	0.9	2.0	7	4
RECEIVING	0.4	0.2	8	10	0.7	0.6	9	10
DAMAGE	1.0	1.0	5	7	0.7	1.2	8	8
CONVERSION	0.1	1.4		5	0.5	1.4		6
<u>VICTIMLESS OFFENCES</u>								
CANNABIS	0.0	0.0			0.5	0.6		9
DRUGS (OTHER)	0.0	0.2			0.4	0.2		
PROSTITUTION	0.0	0.0			0.0	0.0		
INDIGENT CHILD	0.0	0.0			0.0	0.0		
IDLE & DISORDERLY	0.0	0.0			0.1	0.0		
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	73.8	83.9	1	1	77.4	84.8	1	1
MINORS FOUND IN BARS	0.0	0.0			3.7	1.3	4	7
PERCENTAGE TOTALS:	100.1	99.7			100.1	100.0		

TABLE 4.4. - OFFENCE PROFILES (CHILDREN'S COURT):

(PERCENTAGE EACH OFFENCE CATEGORY CONTRIBUTES
TOWARDS THE TOTAL OFFENCE RATE FOR EACH SEX)

OFFENCE CATEGORY	1950-1952				1979-1980			
	Summed		Top ten		Summed		Top ten	
	averages as		offence		averages as		offence	
	percentage		categories		percentage		categories	
	of total		ranked		of total		ranked	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
<u>OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON</u>								
HOMICIDE	0.0	0.0			0.0	0.0		
WOUNDING	0.0	0.2			0.1	0.0		
TRAFFIC (SERIOUS)	0.0	0.0			0.2	0.3		
ASSAULT	0.1	0.9		8	5.0	3.9	6	6
SEX OFFENCES	0.0	2.1		7	0.1	0.5		
BIGAMY	0.0	0.0			0.0	0.0		
ROBBERY	0.0	0.2			1.1	0.8		10
ABORTION	0.0	0.0			0.0	0.0		
INFANTICIDE	0.0	0.0			0.0	0.0		
CRUELTY TO CHILDREN	0.0	0.0			0.0	0.0		
KIDNAPPING	0.0	0.0			0.0	0.0		
<u>PROPERTY OFFENCES</u>								
THEFT	31.2	44.1	2	1	34.9	22.3	1	2
FRAUD	2.4	0.7	5		8.5	1.4	5	9
FORGERY	0.3	0.2	10		1.6	0.5	10	
SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	0.0	0.0			0.1	0.0		
BURGLARY	2.6	13.1	4	2	15.8	27.5	2	1
RECEIVING	0.3	0.9	9	9	3.7	2.4	7	8
DAMAGE	0.5	9.4	8	4	2.9	4.9	8	5
CONVERSION	1.7	8.8	6	5	9.8	22.3	4	3
<u>VICTIMLESS OFFENCES</u>								
CANNABIS	0.0	0.0			0.8	1.0		
DRUGS (OTHER)	0.0	0.0			0.2	0.1		
PROSTITUTION	0.0	0.0			0.0	0.0		
INDIGENT CHILD	51.6	10.9	1	3	0.0	0.0		
IDLE & DISORDERLY	7.7	0.8	3	10	0.3	0.1		
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	1.5	7.6	7	6	1.9	8.7	9	4
MINORS FOUND IN BARS	0.1	0.0			13.0	3.2	3	7
PERCENTAGE TOTALS:	100.0	99.9			100.0	99.9		

(b) Ethnic group comparison

(i) Graphs

Maori arrest levels are much higher than whole population arrest levels for each sex respectively (data on charges by summons are not available). Figures 4.27 to 4.36 show that Maori females are arrested and charged far more often than 'whole population' females. In relation to the populations of both groups, five to six times more Maori females are arrested than whole population females. This ratio is a little lower for drugs offences, and much lower for minor traffic offences.

Because of the high level of Maori offending, relatively more Maori females are arrested for theft, fraud and forgery, than males of the whole population, in the District Court. In the Children's Court, relatively more Maori females are arrested and charged with violent offences than whole population males.

In other respects, however, trends in Maori female arrest rates are similar to whole population female arrest rates. For example, male/female ratios are high for violent offences, 'more-masculine' property offences, drugs offences and minor traffic offences. These rates are rising for both sexes, but absolute differences between the sexes are increasing. Male/female ratios in the 'less-masculine' property offences (theft, fraud and forgery) are not as high, and there is a trend towards convergence in fraud and forgery. These findings are also, of course, very similar to those revealed in the graphs of arrests and summonses for the whole population (Figures 4.1 to 4.26).

(ii) Percent female contributions (%FCs)

Table 4.5 shows %FCs for Maori and whole population arrests in the District and Children's Courts. In the District Court, Maori %FCs in 1952-54 were very similar to whole population %FCs. However, by 1978-80, differences had begun to appear. Maori %FCs for theft, fraud and forgery are higher than for the whole population, but this may well be simply an artifact of the higher Maori offending rates (the further the male and female rates are from zero, the higher the %FCs will be). The Maori %FC for drugs offences in 1952-54 was very high, at 42.6%. However, the numbers involved were extremely low for both sexes, so 42.6% of almost zero is not as significant as it appears at first.

In the Children's Court, Maori %FCs are once again systematically higher than whole population %FCs. But in general, a similar relationship between male and female offending exists for both the Maori population and the whole population, in both the District and Children's Courts.

(iii) Absolute differences (ADs)

The most common trend is for male rates to continue to rise faster than female rates, for both ethnic groups. Convergence in the fraud and forgery offence categories is very marked for Maoris, but is not apparent for the whole population. Because the ethnic group data comprises only arrest cases, it is not possible to say whether the convergence apparent in the preceding whole population analysis (which comprised both arrests and summonses) is due to the influence of the Maori sub-population, or to the inclusion of summonsed offences.

Owing to the broad offence categories in the Children's Court, it is not possible to tell whether there is evidence of convergence in the 'less-masculine' property offences.

(iv) Offence profiles

Table 4.7 shows that offence profiles for Maori females and whole population females are very similar in both the District and Children's Courts. In the District Court, however, drug offences may form a slightly larger proportion of whole population female offending, while 'more-masculine' property crimes may form a slightly larger proportion of Maori female offending.

Sex differences are more marked in these tables, which exclude offences trivial enough to be dealt with by summons, rather than arrest. This trend is apparent for both the Maori population and the whole population.

(c) Age of peak offending

Tables 4.8 and 4.9 show peak offending ages in the District and Children's Courts respectively. Unfortunately, the data bases of each table differ too substantially (see p.53) to incorporate into one table. Therefore it is sometimes difficult to tell whether the peak offending age falls into the 16-minus or the 17-plus age group.

The mid to late teens have been the peak offending ages for both sexes, from 1950 to 1980. Females appear to peak slightly earlier than males in offences against the person, property offences and minor traffic offences. In drugs offences, females and males peak around the same age, and when the indigent child charge was used to control adolescent misbehaviour, females peaked a year later than males. In addition, property offending peaks a little earlier than for the other offence categories examined, for both sexes.

The only noticeable change that has occurred over time has been the slight reduction in peak offending age in the 'more-masculine' property offences, for both sexes.

FIG. 4.27. - OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON

MAORI POPULATION AND TOTAL POPULATION

DISTRICT COURT, - TOTAL CHARGES, ARREST CASES ONLY

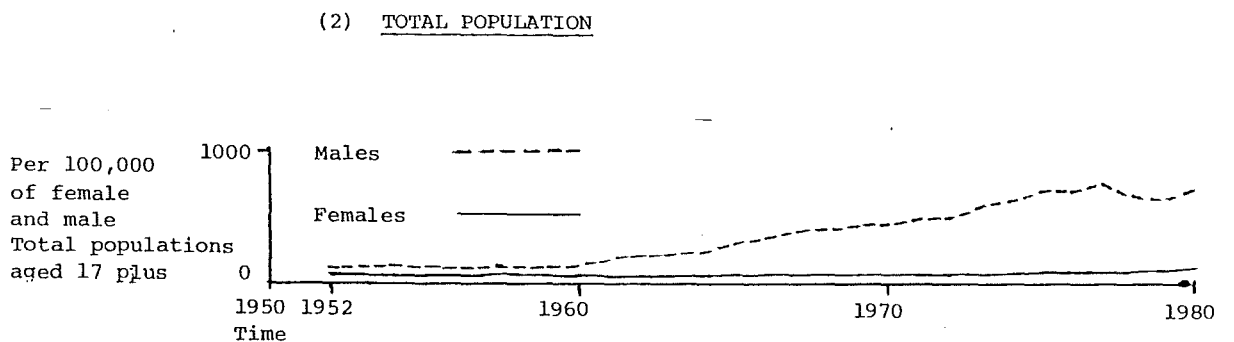
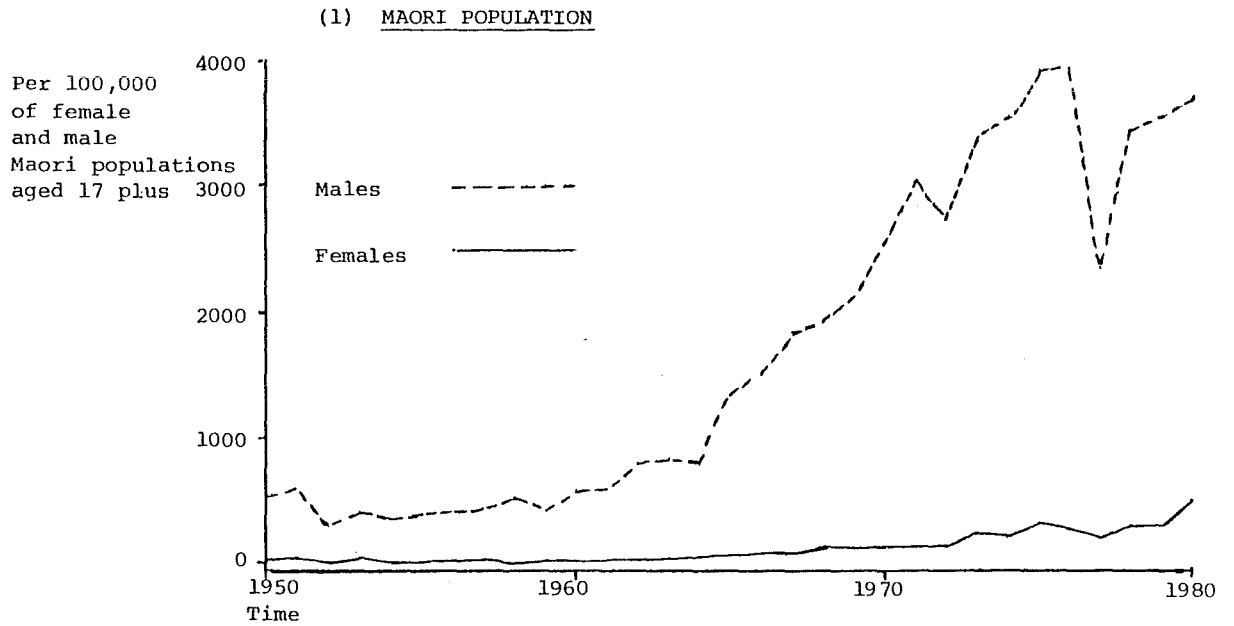
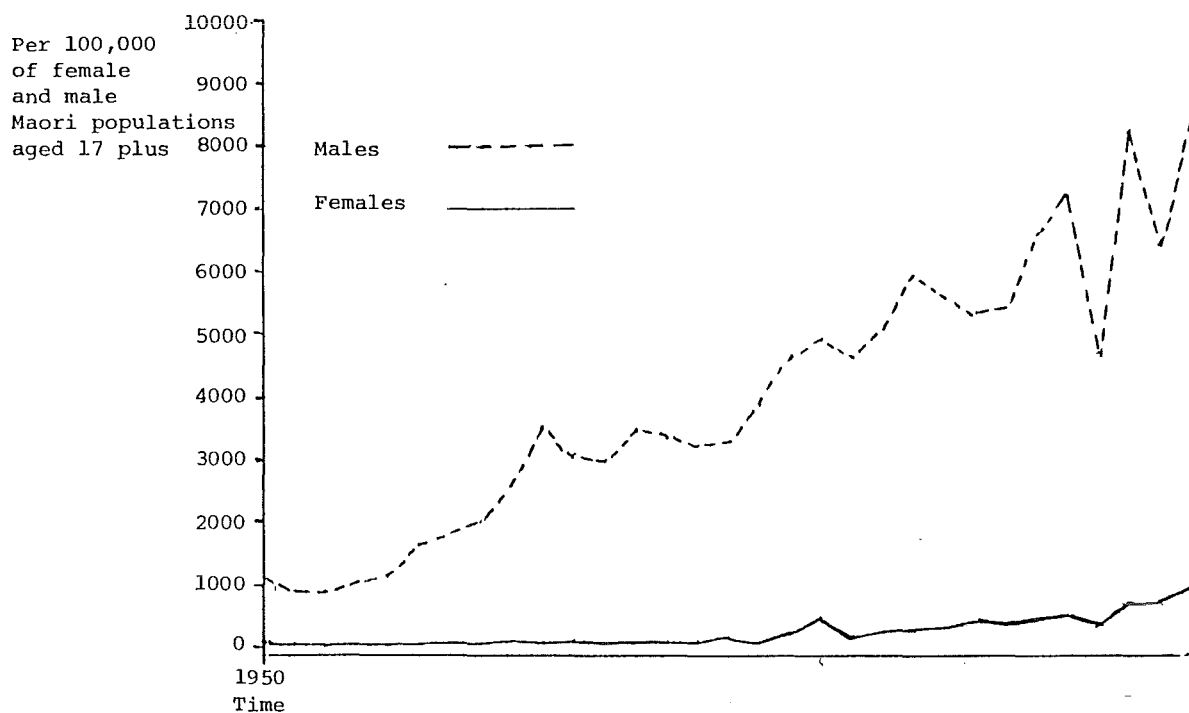


FIG. 4.28. - 'MORE MASCULINE' PROPERTY OFFENCES

MAORI POPULATION AND TOTAL POPULATION

DISTRICT COURT - TOTAL CHARGES, ARREST CASES ONLY

(1) MAORI POPULATION



(2) TOTAL POPULATION

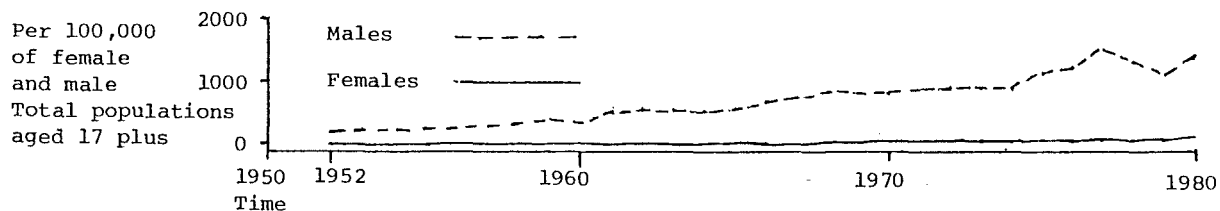


FIG. 4.29. - THEFT

MAORI POPULATION AND TOTAL POPULATION

DISTRICT COURT - TOTAL CHARGES, ARREST CASES ONLY

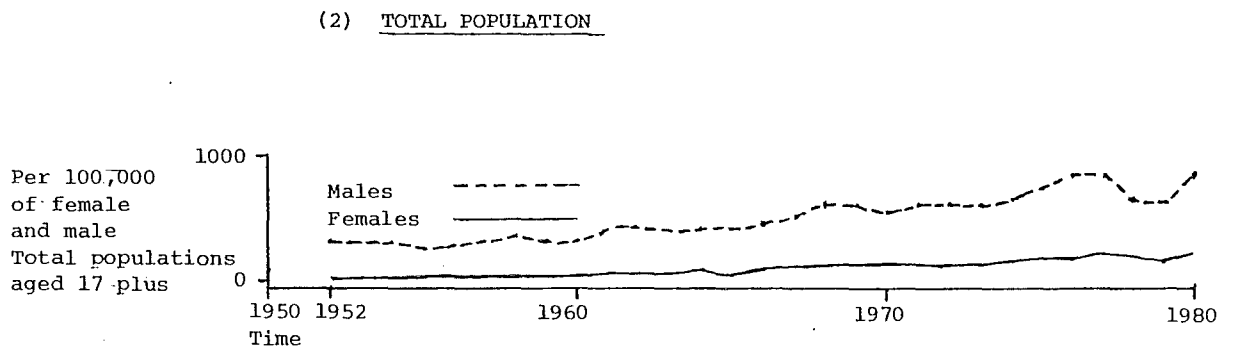
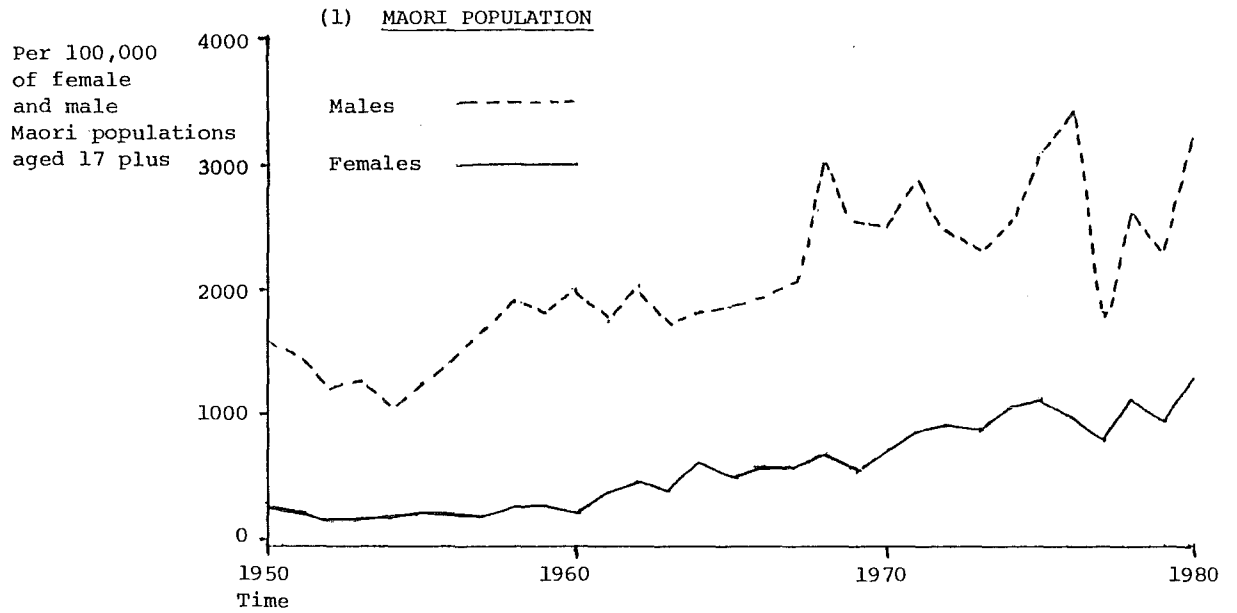
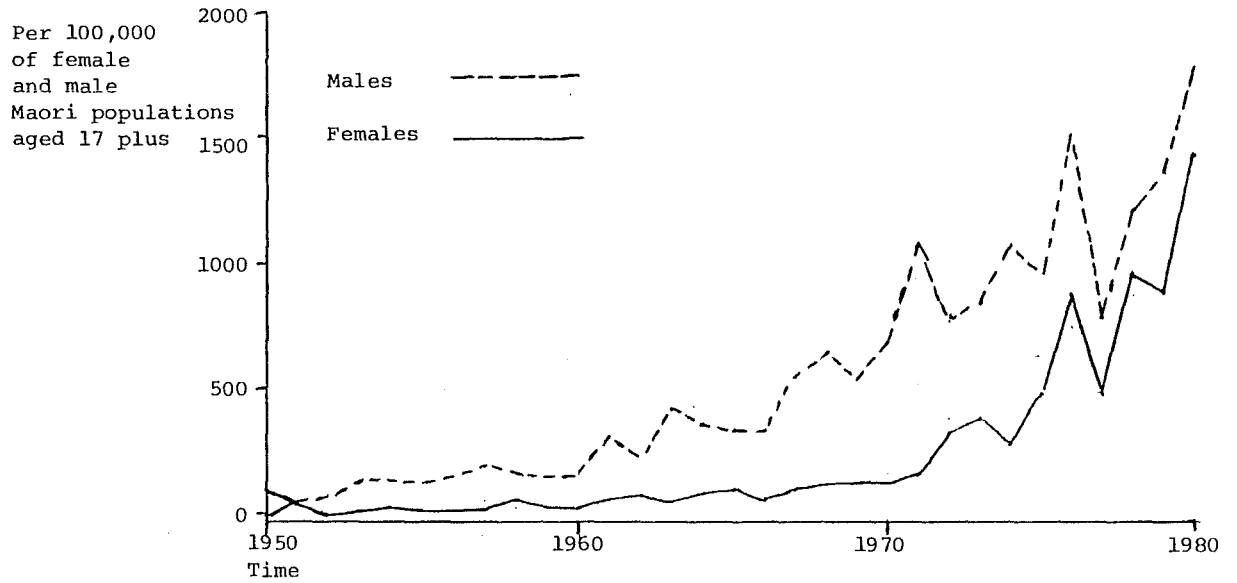


FIG. 4.30. - FRAUD

MAORI POPULATION AND TOTAL POPULATION

DISTRICT COURT - TOTAL CHARGES, ARREST CASES ONLY

(1) MAORI POPULATION



(2) TOTAL POPULATION

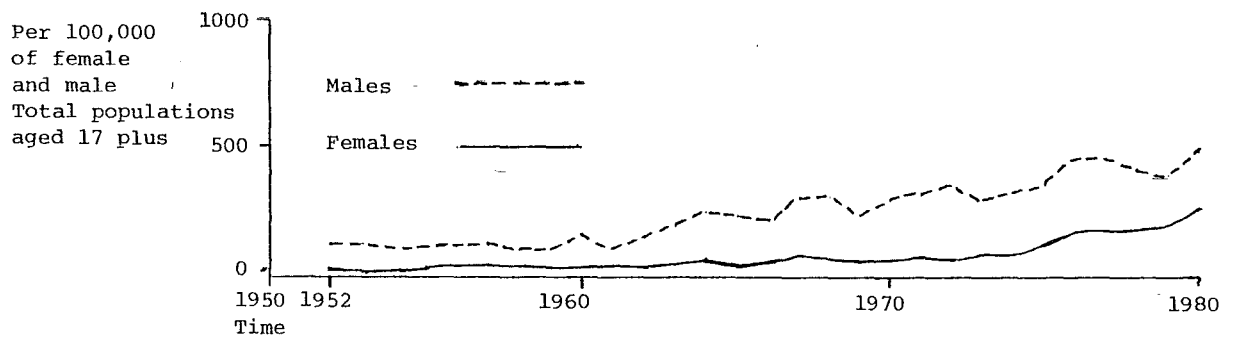
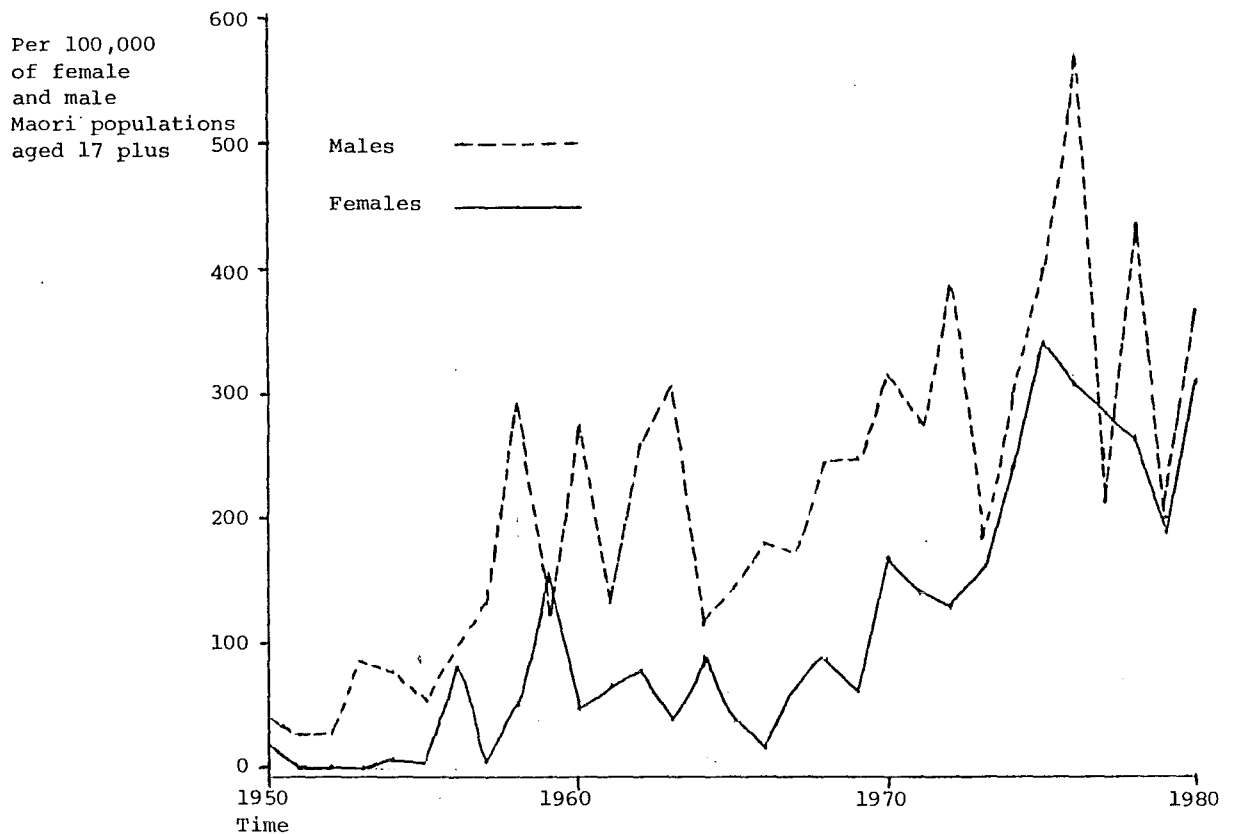


FIG. 4.31. - FORGERY

MAORI POPULATION AND TOTAL POPULATION

DISTRICT COURT - TOTAL CHARGES, ARREST CASES ONLY

(1) MAORI POPULATION



(2) TOTAL POPULATION

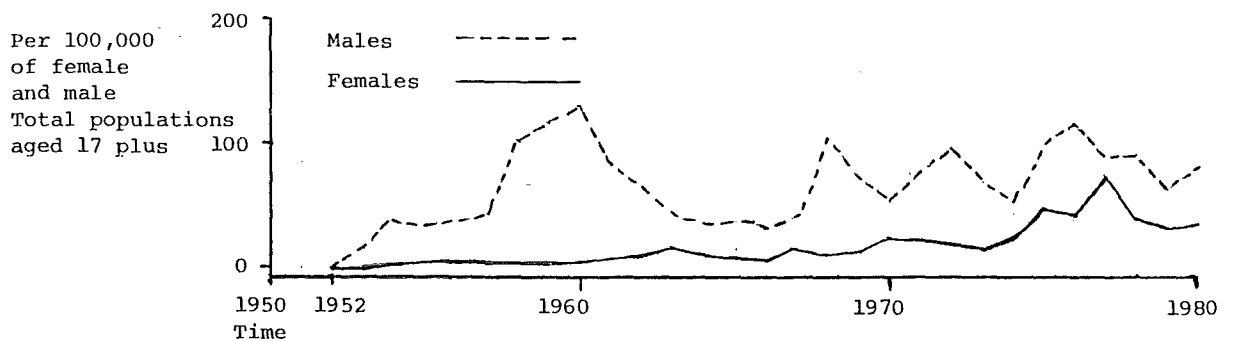
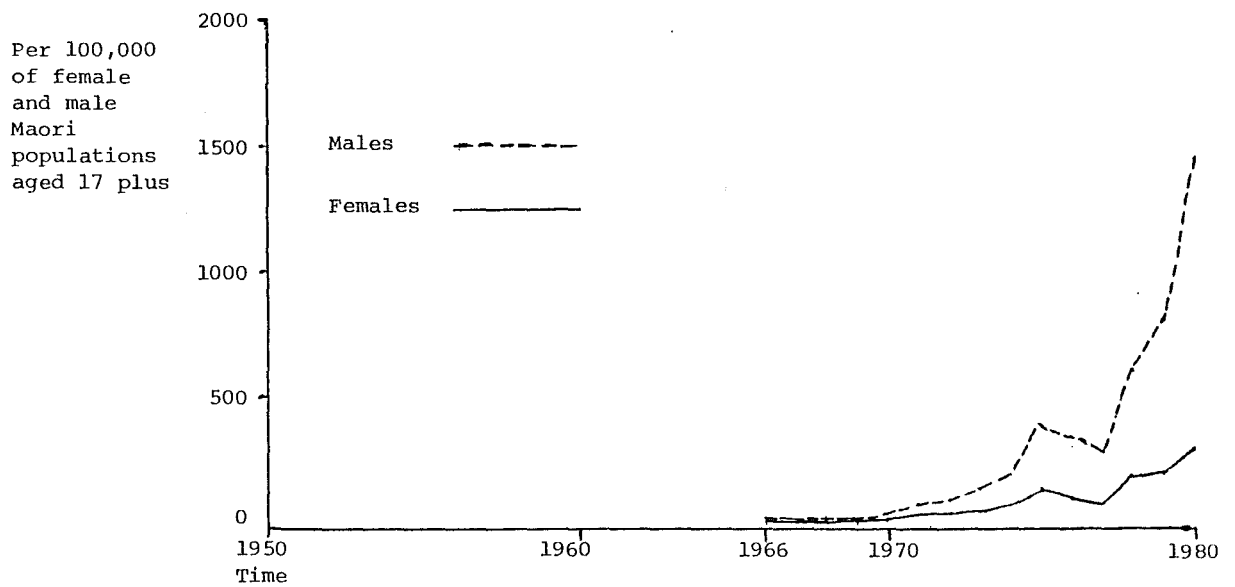


FIG. 4.32. - DRUGS (ALL)

MAORI POPULATION AND TOTAL POPULATION

DISTRICT COURT - TOTAL CHARGES, ARREST CASES ONLY

(1) MAORI POPULATION



(2) TOTAL POPULATION

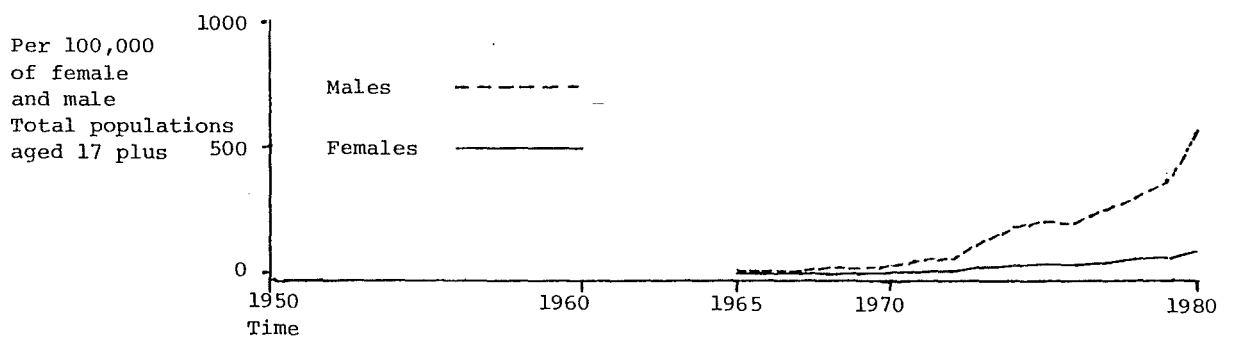
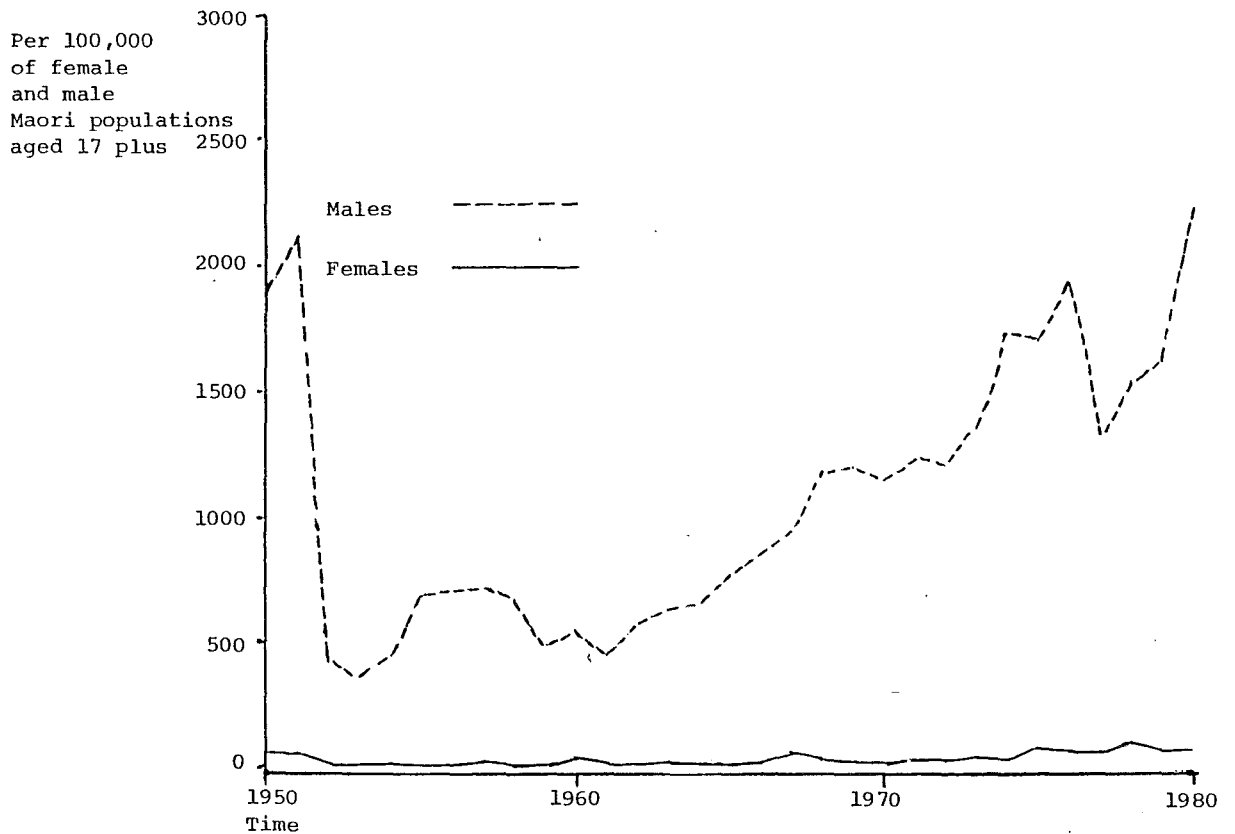


FIG. 4.33. - TRAFFIC (MINOR)

MAORI POPULATION AND TOTAL POPULATION

DISTRICT COURT - TOTAL CHARGES, ARREST CASES ONLY

(1) MAORI POPULATION



(2) TOTAL POPULATION

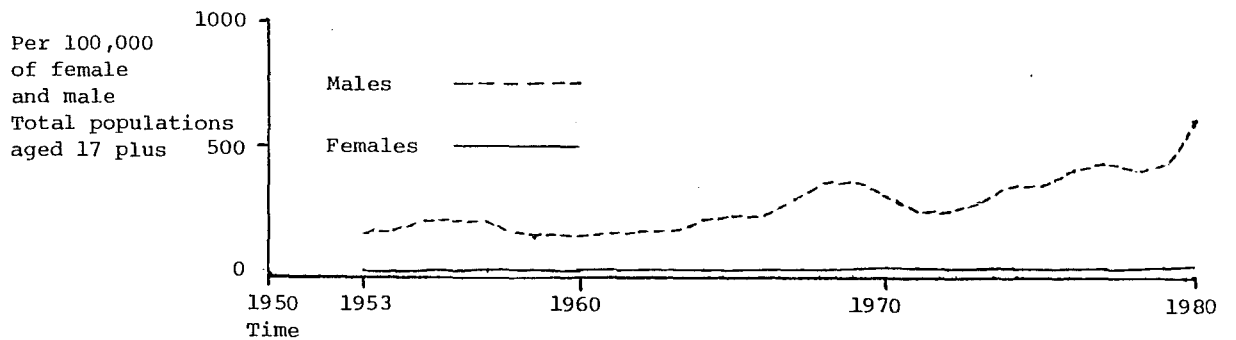
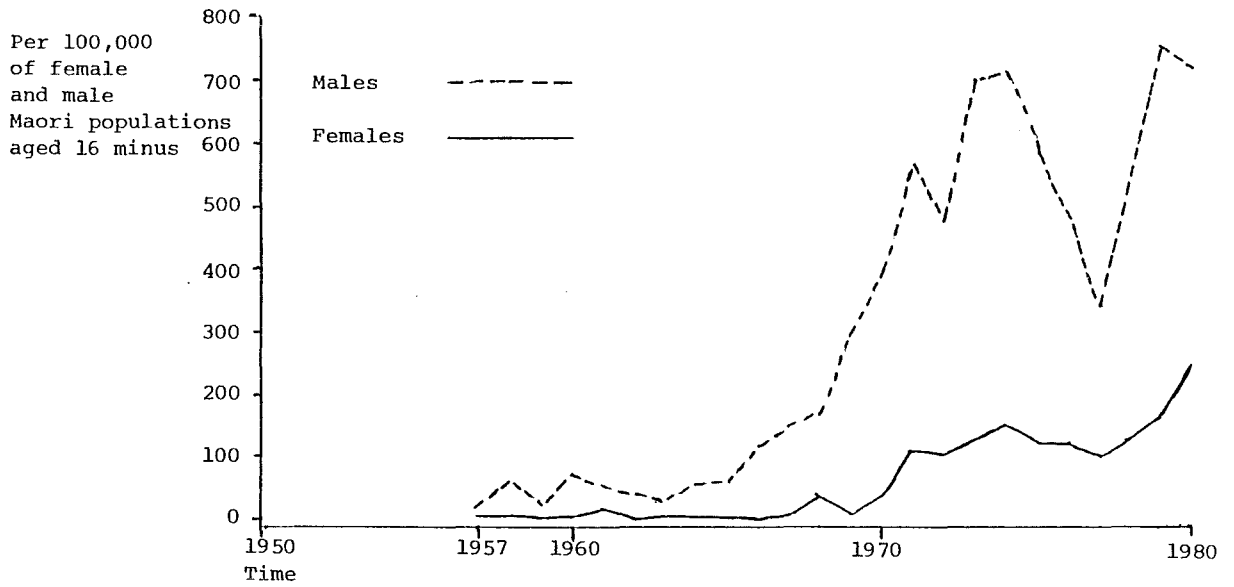


FIG. 4.34. - OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON

MAORI POPULATION AND TOTAL POPULATION

CHILDREN'S COURT - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) MAORI POPULATION



(2) TOTAL POPULATION

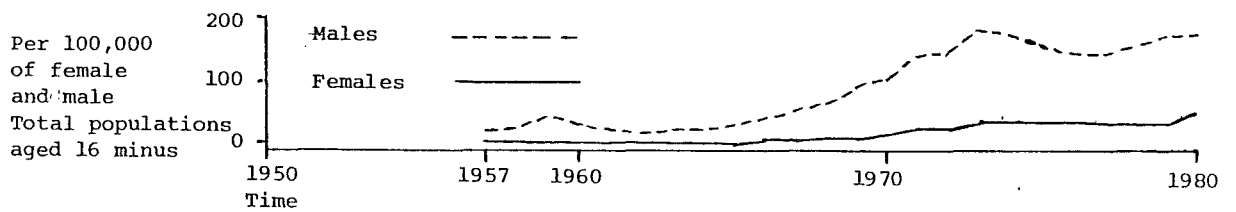
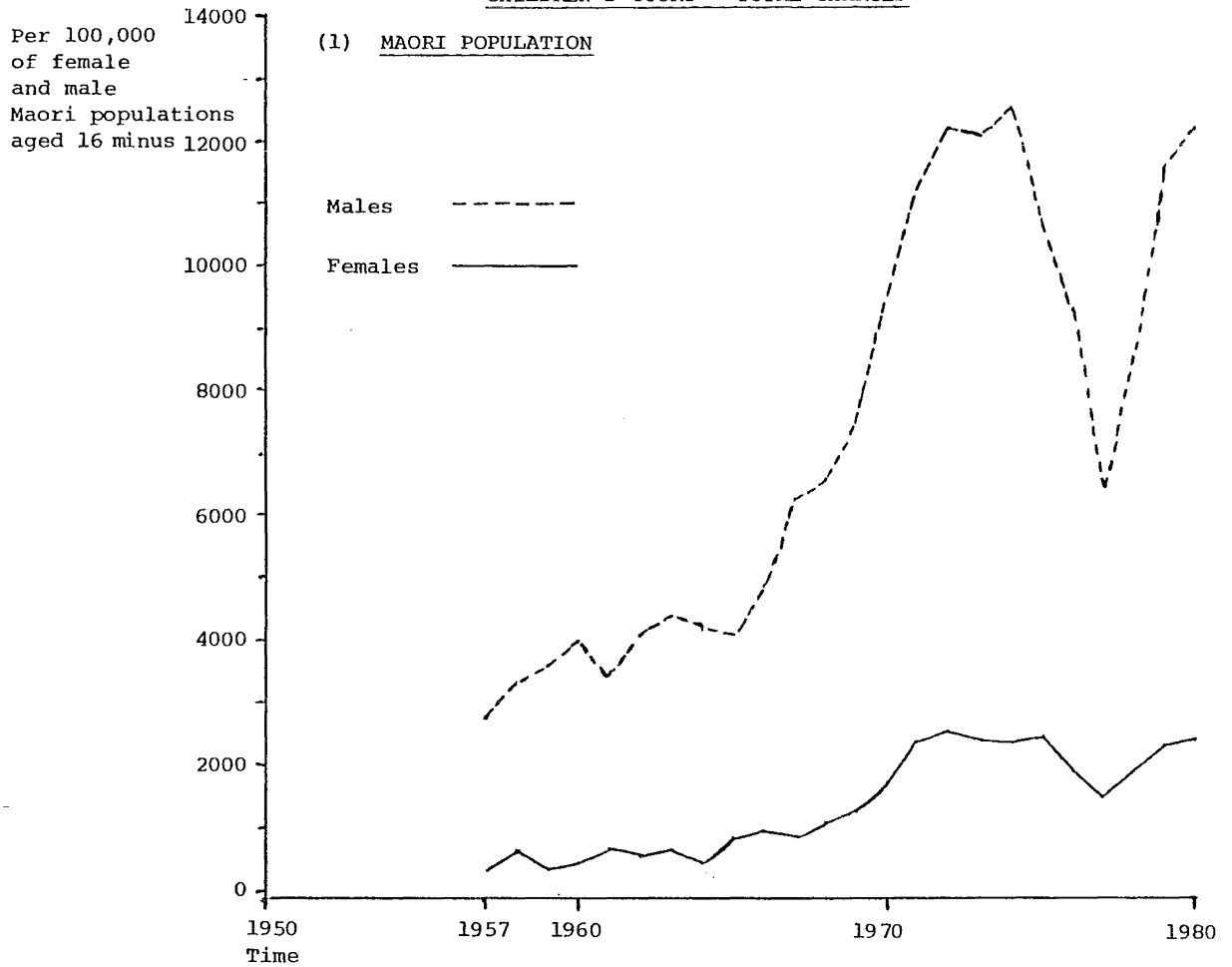


FIG. 4.35. - PROPERTY OFFENCES

MAORI POPULATION AND TOTAL POPULATION

CHILDREN'S COURT - TOTAL CHARGES



(2) TOTAL POPULATION

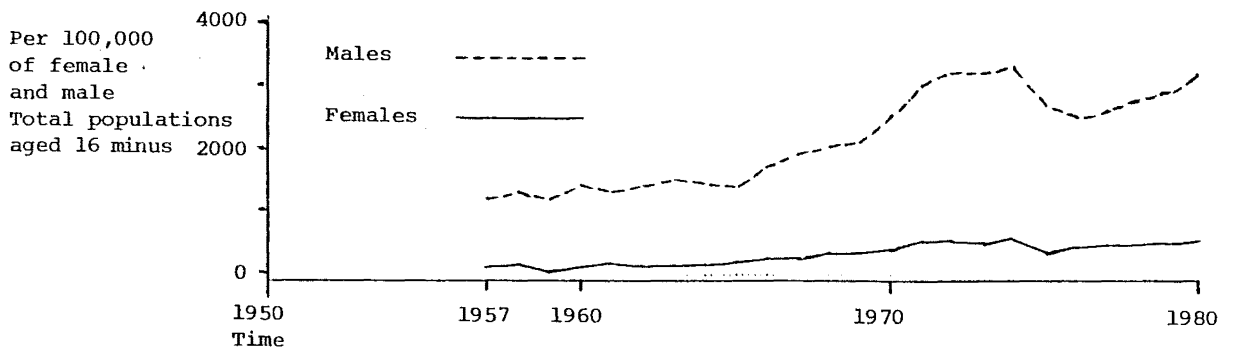
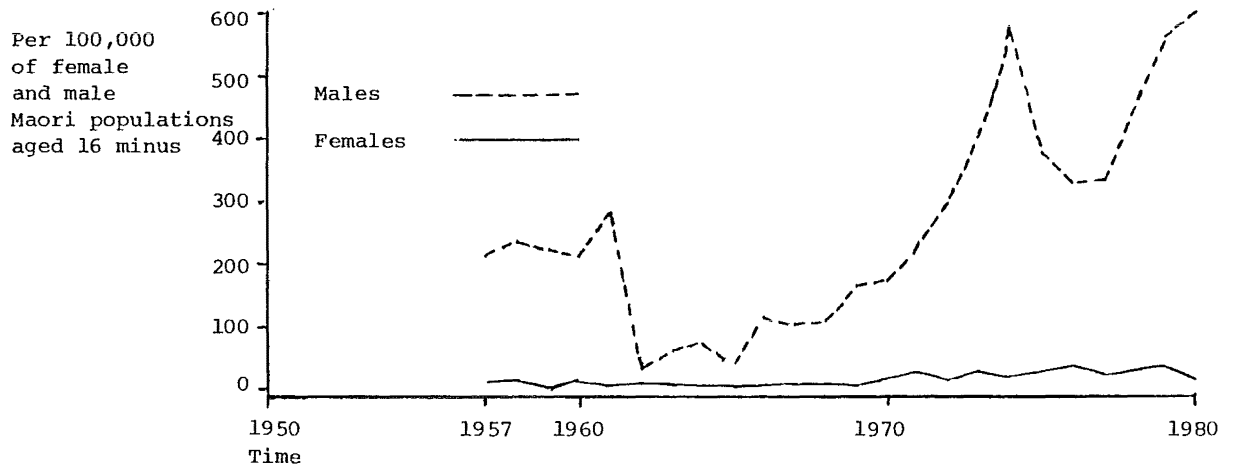


FIG. 4.36. - TRAFFIC (MINOR)

MAORI POPULATION AND TOTAL POPULATION

CHILDREN'S COURT - TOTAL CHARGES

(1) MAORI POPULATION



(2) TOTAL POPULATION

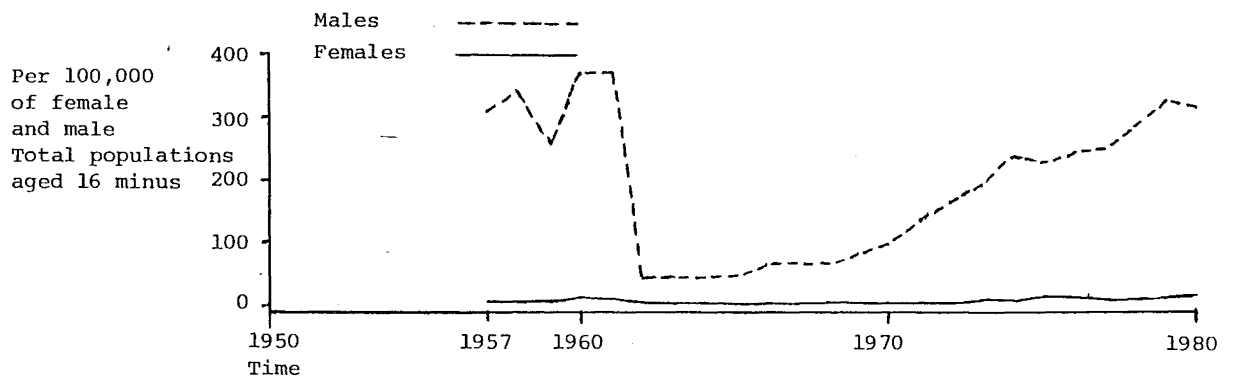


TABLE 4.5. - COMPARISON OF MAORI AND WHOLE POPULATION OFFENDING

PERCENT FEMALE CONTRIBUTIONS (%FCS)

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>DISTRICT COURT</u>			
	<u>1952-1954</u>		<u>1978-1980</u>	
	<u>Maori</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Whole</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Maori</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Whole</u> <u>Population</u>
OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON (EXCLUDING SEX OFFENCES)	5.8	5.4	9.1	7.2
'MORE-MASCULINE' PROPERTY OFFENCES	1.5	1.4	9.3	7.0
THEFT	12.7	10.7	32.2	21.4
FRAUD	10.4	4.5	42.9	31.7
FORGERY	3.3	4.6	43.3	31.0
DRUGS (CANNABIS & OTHER)	42.6	6.1	18.5	14.4
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	0.5	1.1	4.0	3.2

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>CHILDREN'S COURT</u>			
	<u>1957-1959</u>		<u>1979-1980</u>	
	<u>Maori</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Whole</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Maori</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Whole</u> <u>Population</u>
OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON (EXCLUDING SEX OFFENCES)	13.9	5.0	21.7	18.9
PROPERTY OFFENCES	11.9	8.6	16.7	14.5
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	4.3	2.3	4.2	3.8

TABLE 4.6. - COMPARISON OF MAORI AND WHOLE POPULATION OFFENDING

ABSOLUTE DIFFERENCES (ADs)

<u>DISTRICT COURT</u>		
<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>MAORI POPULATION</u>	<u>WHOLE POPULATION</u>
OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON (EXCLUDING SEX OFFENCES)	Increasing	Increasing
'MORE-MASCULINE' PROPERTY OFFENCES	Increasing	Increasing
THEFT	Unchanged	Increasing
FRAUD	<u>Decreasing</u>	Increasing
FORGERY	<u>Decreasing</u>	Unchanged
DRUGS (CANNABIS & OTHER)	Increasing	Increasing
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	Increasing	Increasing

<u>CHILDREN'S COURT</u>		
<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>MAORI POPULATION</u>	<u>WHOLE POPULATION</u>
OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON (EXCLUDING SEX OFFENCES)	Increasing	Increasing
PROPERTY OFFENCES (ALL)	Increasing	Increasing
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	Increasing	Increasing

TABLE 4.7. - COMPARISON OF MAORI AND WHOLE POPULATION OFFENDING

OFFENCE PROFILES

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>DISTRICT COURT</u>							
	<u>1952-1954</u>				<u>1978-1980</u>			
	<u>Summed</u>		<u>Offence</u>		<u>Summed</u>		<u>Offence</u>	
	<u>averages as</u>	<u>percentage</u>	<u>categories</u>	<u>ranked by</u>	<u>averages as</u>	<u>percentage</u>	<u>categories</u>	<u>ranked by</u>
	<u>of total</u>		<u>frequency</u>		<u>of total</u>		<u>frequency</u>	
	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>
<u>(i) MAORI POPULATION</u>								
OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON (EXCLUDING SEX OFFENCES)	9.5	11.1	2	4	9.2	19.3	4	2
'MORE-MASCULINE' PROPERTY OFFENCES	6.9	32.7	3	2	20.2	41.7	3	1
THEFT	75.9	37.7	1	1	28.5	14.6	1	3
FRAUD	5.8	3.6	4	5	27.9	7.8	2	5
FORGERY	1.0	2.1	5	6	6.5	1.8	5	7
DRUGS (CANNABIS & OTHER)	-	-			5.5	5.1	6	6
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	1.0	12.9	6	3	1.9	9.7	7	4
<u>(ii) WHOLE POPULATION</u>								
OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON (EXCLUDING SEX OFFENCES)	9.5	10.2	2	5	7.7	16.1	5	3
'MORE-MASCULINE' PROPERTY OFFENCES	6.2	27.2	4	2	14.9	32.2	3	1
THEFT	70.7	35.9	1	1	29.4	17.5	2	2
FRAUD	9.5	12.3	3	3	29.8	10.4	1	5
FORGERY	1.7	2.2	6	6	5.3	1.9	6	7
DRUGS (CANNABIS & OTHER)	-	-			10.5	10.1	4	6
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	2.3	12.3	5	4	2.4	11.9	7	4

CHILDREN'S COURT

<u>OFFENCE CATEGORY</u>	<u>1957-1959</u>				<u>1979-1980</u>			
	<u>Summed</u>		<u>Offence</u>		<u>Summed</u>		<u>Offence</u>	
	<u>averages as</u>	<u>percentage</u>	<u>categories</u>	<u>ranked by</u>	<u>averages as</u>	<u>percentage</u>	<u>categories</u>	<u>ranked by</u>
	<u>of total</u>		<u>frequency</u>		<u>of total</u>		<u>frequency</u>	
	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>
<u>(i) MAORI POPULATION</u>								
OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON (EXCLUDING SEX OFFENCES)	1.4	1.1	3	3	7.8	5.6	2	2
PROPERTY OFFENCES (ALL)	97.0	94.3	1	1	91.2	90.0	1	1
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	1.6	4.6	2	2	1.0	4.4	3	3
<u>(ii) WHOLE POPULATION</u>								
OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON (EXCLUDING SEX OFFENCES)	1.4	2.2	3	3	7.1	4.9	2	3
PROPERTY OFFENCES (ALL)	92.8	78.5	1	1	90.6	86.0	1	1
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	5.8	19.4	2	2	2.3	9.1	3	2

TABLE 4.8. - AGES OF PEAK OFFENDING (DISTRICT COURT)
(TOTAL CHARGES, ARREST CASES, CONVICTIONS ONLY)

YEAR	OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON		'MORE-MASCULINE' PROPERTY OFFENCES		'LESS-MASCULINE' PROPERTY OFFENCES		TRAFFIC (MINOR)		DRUGS (ALL)	
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
* 1961	21,50	18-21	17	17-20	17,18	18,19	18	18,20,21		
1962	17	20,21	19	17-20	17-19	17-20	40	19-21		
1963	17	19-21	19	17,18	18,19,21	17-20	40	18,19		
1964	17	18-21	18	18	17-20	17-21	18	19		
1965	17,18,21	18,20,21	18,19	18,19	18,19	17-20	17	18-20		
1966	19	18-21	17-19	17-19	17,18	17-19	19	18,19	20	60
1967	20,25,30	18-20	17,18	17-19	19	17-19	18	18-21	20	20
1968	18,20	18-21	18,20	17,18	17,18	17-19	17	17-20	17	18
1969	19	18-20	18	17,18	18	17-19	20	17-20	19	19
1970	(Could not be calculated owing to missing data)									
1971	18,20	18-20	17,18	17,18,20	18	17-20	17,18,20	18-20	20	19,20
1972	17,18	18-20	17	17	17-19	17,18	18	17-20	17,18,20	18-20
1973	17,20	17-20	17	17,18	19	17,18	19,20	17,18	17,18	20
1974	18	17-20	17	17,18	17,18	17-20	18	17-20	19	19,20
1975	17,19	18-20	17	17,18	17-19	17,18	17,18,20	17-20	19	19,20
1976	17,18	18-21	17	17,18	17	17,18	19-20	18-20	19	19,20
1977	(Could not be calculated owing to missing data)									
1978	17,18,20	18-21	17	17,18	17,18,20	17-20	19	19	19,20	19-21
1979	18	18-21	17	17,18	17-19	17-19	17,19	18-20	19,20	20
1980	19,20	18-21	17,18	17,18	17-20	17-19	20,21	17-21	18-21	19-21

KEY TO AGE GROUPS:

17	17 only
18	18 only
19	19 only
20	20 only
21	21-24 inclusive
25	25-29 inclusive
30	30-39 inclusive
40	40-49 inclusive
50	50-59 inclusive
60	60 plus

NOTES:

When two age groups are separated by a hyphen, it indicates that all age groups between the two shown are also to be included.
e.g. 17-20 means 17,18,19,20 inclusive.

'Peak offending age' is defined as absolute peak plus age groups within 5 percentage points of the absolute peak.

* District Court age data available only from 1961 onwards.

TABLE 4.9. - AGES OF PEAK OFFENDING (CHILDREN'S COURT)

(DISTINCT CASES, ARRESTS AND SUMMONSES, CONVICTIONS AND ACQUITTALS)

YEAR	OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON		PROPERTY OFFENCES (ALL)		TRAFFIC (MINOR)		INDIGENT CHILD	
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
1950	16	15	16	14,16	15,16	16	15	13
1951	15,16	15	16	14,15	16	16	14,15	13,14
1952	-	16	16	14,15	16	16	13,15	13,14
1953	14-16	14,16	16	14,15	15,16	16	14	13-15
1954	-	16	15	14-16	16	16	15	14,15
1955	14	16	16	14-16	16	16	14,15	13,14
1956	15	16	16	14-16	15	16	14,15	14,15
1957	16	16	16	15	16	16	15	14-16
1958	15,16	16	15,16	14,16	16	16	14,15	14
1959	15,16	16	15,16	14-16	16	16	15	14,15
1960	16	16	16	15,16	16	16	14,15	14,15
1961	14	16	16	15,16	16	16	15	14,15
1962	16	16	16	14-16	15,16	16	14,15	14-15
1963	15,16	16	16	14-16	14,16	16	15	13-15
1964	16	16	16	14-16	16	16	15	14
1965	14,16	16	15,16	15,16	15	16	15	13,14
1966	16	16	15,16	14-16	16	16	15	14
1967	16	16	14,16	15,16	16	16	15	13-15
1968	16	16	14-16	14-16	15,16	16	14,15	14
1969	15,16	16	14-16	14-16	15,16	16	14,15	14
1970	16	16	15,16	15,16	16	16	14,15	13,14
1971	15,16	16	14-16	14-16	16	16	14	14
1972	16	16	14-16	14-16	16	16	14,15	9
1973	15	16	14-16	14-16	16	16	14,15	9
1974	14-16	16	15,16	16	16	16	9	9
1975	16	16	16	15,16	16	16	9	9
1976	15,16	16	15,16	16	16	16	9	9
1977	15,16	16	15,16	16	15,16	16	9	-
1978	(No Children's Court data published for 1978)							
1979	(Could not be calculated owing to missing data)							
1980	(Could not be calculated owing to missing data)							

KEY TO AGE GROUPS

9	0-9 inclusive
10	10-12 inclusive
13	13 only
14	14 only
15	15 only
16	16 only

NOTES:

When two age groups are separated by a hyphen, it indicates that all age groups between the two shown are also to be included. e.g., 14-16 means 14,15,16 inclusive.

'Peak offending age' is defined as absolute peak plus age groups within 5 percentage points of the absolute peak.

Is 'women's emancipation' responsible for convergence between female and male crime rates?

Given the results on p.74, which suggest that only a few female offences are rising faster than their male equivalents, can these relative increases be attributed to the emancipation of women?

As argued on p.64, if women's emancipation is the cause of converging crime rates, then correlations between measures of emancipation and converging female offence rates should be higher than correlations between :

- (i) other 'competing' independent variables and converging female offence rates;
- (ii) measures of emancipation and the equivalent male offence rates;
- and
- (iii) measures of emancipation and non-converging female offence rates.

Tables 4.10 to 4.13 present Pearson's r product-moment correlation coefficients between the sixteen offence categories listed in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 (whole population, females and males, District and Children's Courts), and the seven independent variables described on pages 66-68, plus the equivalent other-sex offence rates. These correlations are examined in relation to the comparisons outlined above.

- (i) Table 4.14 shows that measures of emancipation do not correlate more highly with converging female offence rates than do other independent variables. In the District Court, the correlation between social security fraud and the declining birth rate is almost identical to the correlation between social security fraud and the contra-indicator of emancipation, the declining value of the tax exemption for dependent spouse. In the Children's Court, the number

of women in the full-time work force is the best correlate of wounding, but urbanisation is the best correlate of drugs (other). The best correlates of fraud and social security fraud include both emancipation and other variables.

(ii) Table 4.15 shows that, in the District Court, emancipation variables do correlate higher with the converging offence rates than with the equivalent male rates. But, so do the competing variables. In the Children's Court, the wounding and drugs (other) offence categories show the same trend. The independent variables correlate more highly with the female offences than with the equivalent male offences. In the fraud offence category, the correlations between the independent variables and dependent variables are very similar for both sexes.

(iii) Table 4.16 and 4.17 show the 'best correlates' of all the female offence categories - District Court and Children's Court. It is clear that measures of emancipation do not correlate more highly with converging female offence categories than with other female offence categories.

In summary, the emancipation hypothesis is not supported by these three comparisons.

Chapter summary

Two broad objectives were undertaken in this chapter, and these can be summarised as follows :

- (i) To provide an account of the nature of, and trends in, female crime in New Zealand from 1950 to 1980

With few exceptions, female offence rates are considerably lower than male offence rates. In both sexes, crime rates have been

increasing. However, in only four of the eleven offences against the person - i.e., wounding, traffic (serious), assaults and robbery - is the female rate definitely rising. Offence rates for the eight property offences are rising in both sexes. 'Less-masculine' property offences (theft, fraud, forgery and social security fraud) are characterised by relatively high levels of female offending, lower sex ratios and, in some, a tendency to converge with male rates. 'More-masculine' property offences (burglary, receiving, damage and conversion) are characterised by lower female offence levels, high sex ratios and increasing sex differences. Of the seven victimless offences examined, minor traffic offences, drugs offences and under-age drinking are all increasing rapidly in both sexes.

It was found that the female contribution towards most offences is rising, and this finding is consistent with overseas research. Nevertheless, the general trend is for male rates to continue to rise faster than female rates, in that sex differences continue to increase in most cases. However, there is evidence of convergence in a few offence categories. These offences are all 'less-masculine' property or victimless offences, plus Children's Court wounding.

Female and male offence profiles, while exhibiting obvious differences, are nevertheless fundamentally similar. Females and males share 8 or 9 of the 'top 10' and 3 or 4 of the 'top 5' offences for each sex. The profiles have changed very little over time.

Maori females appear in court at a much higher rate than whole population females. However, Maori females appear to stand in much the same relation to Maori males in their offence trends as whole population females stand in relation to whole population males.

Generally speaking, females peak earlier than males by one or two years for most offence categories examined. Females and males

tend to peak at about the same age, however, for drugs offences. The peak age for both sexes tends to be the mid to late teens, with property offences peaking earlier than the other offences examined.

- (2) To examine the theory that relative increases in female crime are caused by 'women's emancipation'

Correlation analysis fails to provide prima facie support for the 'emancipation hypothesis', suggesting that convergence in some offence categories is unlikely to be attributable to women's emancipation, as measured by the 'conventional' emancipation variables selected. Equivalent other-sex offence rates, the urbanisation rate, and the number of women in the full-time work force, all correlate very highly with many female (and male) offence categories - and with each other.

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TABLE 4.10. - PEARSON'S R PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
BETWEEN OFFENCE RATES, AND MEASURES OF EMANCIPATION,
OTHER SOCIAL MEASURES, AND OTHER-SEX OFFENCE RATES

(1) DISTRICT COURT - FEMALE OFFENCE RATES

	INDEPENDENT VARIABLES							
	Birth Rate	Women in Work Force	Women in Police Force	Female Divorce Rate	Tax Exemp- tion Value	Urban- isation Rate	Consumer Price Index	Male Offence Rate
<u>DEPENDENT VARIABLES</u> <u>(OFFENCE CATEGORIES)</u>								
WOUNDING	-.60	.67	.67	.67	-.61	.66	.61	.79
TRAFFIC (SERIOUS)	-.83	.93	.78	.80	-.80	.92	.87	.93
ASSAULT	-.94	.94	.90	.91	-.91	.92	.96	.96
ROBBERY	-.66	.62	.62	.68	-.70	.49	.74	.76
THEFT	-.85	.98	.79	.82	-.80	.98	.89	.91
FRAUD	-.88	.95	.81	.82	-.84	.92	.94	.91
FORGERY	-.68	.89	.64	.68	-.65	.89	.77	.69
SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	-.69	.47	.66	.67	-.68	.43	.63	.04
BURGLARY	-.73	.90	.68	.68	-.66	.92	.81	.91
RECEIVING	-.85	.96	.83	.83	-.82	.95	.94	.96
DAMAGE	-.91	.91	.88	.92	-.87	.89	.93	.93
CONVERSION	-.78	.95	.73	.75	-.74	.96	.88	.95
CANNABIS	-.91	.92	.92	.97	-.96	.94	.91	.99
DRUGS (OTHER)	-.82	.80	.84	.92	-.84	.82	.85	.90
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	-.81	.98	.75	.75	-.74	.99	.87	.99
MINORS FOUND IN BARS	-.76	.83	.84	.93	-.81	.97	.80	.90

TABLE 4.11. - PEARSON'S R PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
BETWEEN OFFENCE RATES, AND MEASURES OF EMANCIPATION,
OTHER SOCIAL MEASURES, AND OTHER-SEX OFFENCE RATES

(2) DISTRICT COURT - MALE OFFENCE RATES

	INDEPENDENT VARIABLES							
	Birth Rate	Women in Work Force	Women in Police Force	Female Divorce Rate	Tax Exemp- tion Value	Urban- isation Rate	Consumer Price Index	Female Offence Rate
<u>DEPENDENT VARIABLES</u> <u>(OFFENCE CATEGORIES)</u>								
WOUNDING	-.76	.90	.75	.76	-.76	.90	.79	.79
TRAFFIC (SERIOUS)	-.80	.93	.76	.74	-.77	.93	.86	.93
ASSAULT	-.87	.98	.81	.84	-.82	.98	.89	.96
ROBBERY	-.59	.62	.63	.65	-.63	.62	.73	.76
THEFT	-.77	.89	.79	.79	-.75	.90	.86	.91
FRAUD	-.88	.94	.81	.81	-.81	.94	.88	.91
FORGERY	-.32	.60	.38	.36	-.31	.64	.55	.69
SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	.34	-.44	-.19	-.25	.28	-.44	-.20	.04
BURGLARY	-.66	.92	.63	.62	-.60	.93	.79	.91
RECEIVING	-.84	.97	.80	.82	-.78	.97	.90	.96
DAMAGE	-.83	.95	.81	.81	-.81	.95	.92	.93
CONVERSION	-.85	.96	.83	.84	-.80	.96	.91	.95
CANNABIS	-.91	.95	.93	.97	-.97	.94	.91	.99
DRUGS (OTHER)	-.83	.80	.81	.86	-.80	.79	.79	.90
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	-.77	.97	.71	.70	-.70	.98	.84	.99
MINORS FOUND IN BARS	-.59	.65	.65	.77	-.60	.80	.67	.90

TABLE 4.12. - PEARSON'S R PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
BETWEEN OFFENCE RATES, AND MEASURES OF EMANCIPATION,
OTHER SOCIAL MEASURES, AND OTHER-SEX OFFENCE RATES

(3) CHILDREN'S COURT - FEMALE OFFENCE RATES

	INDEPENDENT VARIABLES							
	Birth Rate	Women in Work Force	Women in Police Force	Female Divorce Rate	Tax Exemp- tion Value	Urban- isation Rate	Consumer Price Index	Male Offence Rate
DEPENDENT VARIABLES (OFFENCE CATEGORIES)								
WOUNDING	-.13	.51	.22	.31	-.17	.30	.25	.35
TRAFFIC (SERIOUS)	-.70	.76	.72	.77	-.78	.74	.70	.75
ASSAULT	-.84	.93	.85	.87	-.83	.93	.87	.98
ROBBERY	-.53	.17	.60	.59	-.65	.12	.54	.88
THEFT	-.69	.94	.64	.67	-.62	.96	.75	.91
FRAUD	-.85	.79	.77	.86	-.80	.77	.82	.77
FORGERY	-.67	.80	.67	.77	-.70	.82	.75	.84
*SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	-.55	.43	.23	.50	-.47	-.26	.52	-
BURGLARY	-.78	.95	.72	.75	-.73	.96	.86	.95
RECEIVING	-.73	.92	.67	.70	-.67	.94	.79	.95
DAMAGE	-.70	.83	.70	.68	-.71	.81	.81	.59
CONVERSION	-.84	.96	.80	.83	-.81	.97	.90	.97
CANNABIS	-.89	.93	.89	.88	-.92	.88	.80	.96
DRUGS (OTHER)	-.37	.35	.40	.58	-.54	.67	.44	.40
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	-.51	.39	.67	.58	-.56	.36	.57	.87
MINORS FOUND IN BARS	-.88	.95	.84	.85	-.82	.95	.83	.96

* Offence rate = zero for all but four years, therefore correlation coefficients
not very meaningful

TABLE 4.13. - PEARSON'S R PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
BETWEEN OFFENCE RATES, AND MEASURES OF EMANCIPATION,
OTHER SOCIAL MEASURES, AND OTHER-SEX OFFENCE RATES

(4) CHILDREN'S COURT - MALE OFFENCE RATES

<u>DEPENDENT VARIABLES (OFFENCE CATEGORIES)</u>	<u>INDEPENDENT VARIABLES</u>							
	Birth Rate	Women in Work Force	Women in Police Force	Female Divorce Rate	Tax Exemp- tion Value	Urban- isation Rate	Consumer Price Index	Female Offence Rate
WOUNDING	-.11	.19	.59	.21	-.23	-.09	.03	.35
TRAFFIC (SERIOUS)	-.81	.93	.75	.82	-.76	.93	.82	.75
ASSAULT	-.81	.96	.79	.83	-.78	.97	.86	.98
ROBBERY	-.64	.39	.67	.66	-.72	.35	.86	.98
THEFT	-.68	.85	.68	.74	-.66	.88	.75	.91
FRAUD	-.85	.91	.85	.86	-.83	.91	.89	.77
FORGERY	-.53	.72	.54	.57	-.50	.75	.62	.84
*SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BURGLARY	-.69	.95	.63	.66	-.64	.97	.80	.95
RECEIVING	-.73	.95	.69	.72	-.66	.96	.80	.95
DAMAGE	-.47	.44	.56	.62	-.62	.44	.58	.59
CONVERSION	-.53	.72	.54	.57	-.50	.75	.62	.84
CANNABIS	-.91	.91	.91	.90	-.95	.91	.88	.96
DRUGS (OTHER)	-.32	.35	.37	.27	-.44	.50	.25	.40
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	-.30	.24	.54	.47	-.45	.21	.47	.87
MINORS FOUND IN BARS	-.86	.91	.76	.76	-.74	.92	.79	.96

* Offence rate = zero for all but two years, therefore correlations not able to be calculated

TABLE 4.14. - COMPARISON OF BEST* CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
BETWEEN 'CONVERGING' FEMALE OFFENCE RATES
AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

DEPENDENT VARIABLE ('CONVERGING' FEMALE OFFENCE CATEGORY)	INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	CORRELATION COEFFICIENT
<u>DISTRICT COURT</u>		
FRAUD	Women in full-time work force	.95
	Consumer price index	.94
	Urbanisation rate	.92
	Male fraud rate	.91
FORGERY	Urbanisation rate	.89
	Women in full-time work force	.89
SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	Declining birth rate	-.69
	Real value of tax exemption for dependant spouse	-.68
	Female divorce rate	.67
	Women in police force	.66
<u>CHILDREN'S COURT</u>		
WOUNDING	Women in full-time work force	.51
FRAUD	Female divorce rate	.86
	Declining birth rate	-.85
	Consumer price index	.82
SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	Declining birth rate	-.55
	Consumer price index	.52
	Female divorce rate	.50
DRUGS (OTHER)	Urbanisation rate	.67

* 'Best' correlation coefficients are defined as follows :

- (1) The absolute best correlation coefficient for each offence category, however high or low;
- (2) All coefficients within .05 of the absolute best for each offence category; and
- (3) All coefficients of .90 and above.

TABLE 4.15. - COMPARISON OF BEST* CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN
'CONVERGING' FEMALE OFFENCE RATES AND EQUIVALENT MALE
RATES (DEPENDENT VARIABLES) AND THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

<u>DEPENDENT VARIABLES</u> <u>(OFFENCE CATEGORIES</u> <u>WHERE FEMALE & MALE</u> <u>RATES CONVERGING)</u>		<u>INDEPENDENT VARIABLES</u>		<u>CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS</u> <u>BETWEEN DEPENDENT AND</u> <u>INDEPENDENT VARIABLES</u>	
			<u>Female</u>		<u>Male</u>
<u>DISTRICT COURT</u>					
FRAUD	Women in full-time work				
	force		.95		.94
	Consumer price index		.94		.88
	Urbanisation rate		.92		.94
FORGERY	Urbanisation rate		.89		.64
	Women in full-time work				
	force		.89		.60
SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	Declining birth rate		-.69		.34
	Real value of tax exemption				
	for dependent spouse		-.68		.28
	Female divorce rate		.67		-.25
	Women in police force		.66		-.19
<u>CHILDREN'S COURT</u>					
WOUNDING	Women in full-time work				
	force		.51		.19
FRAUD	Female divorce rate		.86		.86
	Declining birth rate		-.85		-.85
	Consumer price index		.82		.89
SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	Declining birth rate		-.55		**
	Consumer price index		.52		**
	Female divorce rate		.50		**
DRUGS (OTHER)	Urbanisation rate		.67		.50

* 'Best' correlation coefficients are defined as follows :

- (1) The absolute best coefficient for each offence category, however high or low;
- (2) All coefficients within .05 of the absolute best for each offence category; and
- (3) All coefficients of .90 and above.

** Offence rate = zero for all but two cases, therefore correlation coefficient could not be calculated.

TABLE 4.16. - COMPARISON OF CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN 'EMANCIPATION VARIABLES' AND BOTH CONVERGING AND NON-CONVERGING FEMALE RATES

(1) DISTRICT COURT

OFFENCE CATEGORY	'EMANCIPATION VARIABLES'			
	Declining birth rate	Women in full-time work force	Female divorce rate	Women in police force
<u>Converging female offence rates</u>				
FRAUD	-.88	.95	.82	.81
FORGERY	-.68	.89	.68	.64
SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	-.69	.47	.67	.66
<u>Non-converging female offence rates</u>				
WOUNDING	-.60	.67	.67	.67
TRAFFIC (SERIOUS)	-.83	.93	.80	.78
ASSAULT	-.94	.94	.91	.90
ROBBERY	-.66	.62	.68	.62
THEFT	-.85	.98	.82	.79
BURGLARY	-.73	.90	.68	.62
RECEIVING	-.85	.96	.83	.83
DAMAGE	-.91	.91	.92	.88
CONVERSION	-.78	.95	.75	.73
CANNABIS	-.91	.92	.97	.92
DRUGS (OTHER)	-.82	.80	.92	.84
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	-.81	.98	.75	.75
MINORS FOUND IN BARS	-.76	.83	.93	.84

TABLE 4.17. - COMPARISON OF CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN 'EMANCIPATION VARIABLES' AND BOTH CONVERGING AND NON-CONVERGING FEMALE RATES

(2) CHILDREN'S COURT

OFFENCE CATEGORY	'EMANCIPATION VARIABLES'			
	Declining birth rate	Women in full-time work force	Female divorce rate	Women in police force
<u>Converging female offence rates</u>				
WOUNDING	-.13	.51	.31	.22
FRAUD	-.85	.79	.86	.77
SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD	-.55	.43	.50	.23
DRUGS (OTHER)	-.37	.35	.58	.40
<u>Non-converging female offence rates</u>				
TRAFFIC (SERIOUS)	-.70	.76	.77	.72
ASSAULT	-.84	.93	.87	.85
ROBBERY	-.53	.17	.59	.60
THEFT	-.69	.94	.67	.64
FORGERY	-.67	.80	.77	.67
BURGLARY	-.78	.95	.75	.72
RECEIVING	-.73	.92	.70	.67
DAMAGE	-.70	.83	.68	.70
CONVERSION	-.84	.96	.83	.80
CANNABIS	-.89	.93	.88	.89
TRAFFIC (MINOR)	-.51	.39	.58	.67
MINORS FOUND IN BARS	-.88	.95	.85	.84

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the results and their implications for present-day perceptions of female criminality and sex differences in criminality are discussed.

Comparison with previous research

Where comparable, the results found here are very similar to those found in previous New Zealand and overseas research. Female arrest rates are much lower than male arrest rates in almost all offence categories, and the gap between the sexes continues to widen in many offence categories.

In the United States research, convergence (except where rates for both sexes are declining) is limited to adult forgery, juvenile theft, adult and juvenile conversion, and status offences. The present New Zealand results show that convergence (similarly defined) is limited to adult and juvenile fraud and social security fraud, adult forgery, and juvenile wounding and drugs (other). In addition, of course, there are the very low-frequency offences against the person where male and female rates have always been very similar.

While offence rates differ, offence profiles are fairly similar for females and males in both the present and previous research. Substantial imbalances are limited to certain property offences - theft and fraud, burglary and conversion, and to certain victimless offences - indigent child (now disused) and minors found in bars.

The present findings relating to sex differences between majority and minority ethnic groups compare well with previous New Zealand research. Although Maori offence rates for both

sexes are much higher than non-Maori rates, the relationship between the sexes is similar for both ethnic groups.

Finally, present and previous research findings on age of peak offending are compatible, the mid to late teens being the peak offending ages for both sexes, with property offences peaking earlier than offences against the person, and with females peaking at a slightly younger age than males.

Nature of female criminality in New Zealand

Female criminality in New Zealand, as reflected in the Justice Statistics, conforms in many ways to a stereotypical picture of female behaviour - i.e., non-aggressive, domestic, and linked to traditional female sex-role activities. This picture emerges when one examines the offence categories where females are most highly represented. On the other hand, the similarity of offence profiles for each sex indicates that there is a great deal of overlap in female and male offending, and that apparent qualitative differences are in fact differences in emphasis.

(a) Offences against the person in which females are more highly represented are the low-frequency offences (where rates never exceed 5 per 100,000 for either sex) - i.e., homicide, bigamy, abortion, infanticide, cruelty to children, and kidnapping. With the exception of kidnapping, all relate in some way to domestic relationships and/or to children. Most homicides committed by females in New Zealand are domestic, and bigamy involves entering into an illegal marriage. While women charged with abortion are those performing, not seeking, abortions, they nevertheless relate to foetuses. Infanticide and cruelty to children are, of course, self-evidently child-related. The only offence category without explicit domestic or child connotations

(except for the name) is kidnapping. And it is interesting to note that the sex difference in kidnapping is steadily increasing, although it remains a very low-frequency offence.

All other offences against the person occur at much higher levels, at least for males, and sex differences are pronounced and generally increasing. However, frequency of occurrence and sex differences are much less marked in the Children's Court, where most offenders are aged only up to sixteen.

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 on pp.104 and 105 show that, while offences against the person comprise only a small proportion of female offending, they play a relatively minor part in male offending also. Assault is the only violent offence among the top 10 male offences, and it is also one of the top 10 female offences.

(b) Property offences where females are more highly represented are, of course, those defined as 'less-masculine' in the previous chapter (p.73) - theft, fraud, forgery and social security fraud. Sex differences are either not increasing, or are declining, or absent. They are all (except for social security fraud) high-frequency offences for both sexes. And they may also be characterised by the low level of force or physical activity required to commit them. This particularly applies to the fraud, forgery and social security fraud offences; and these are the offences where convergence between the sexes is most clearly found.

The theft offence category is large and heterogeneous. According to 1980 Police Department data, it comprises the offences presented in Table 5.1. on p.139.

It is first of all apparent from Table 5.1. that employment-related thefts (theft as servant) form an insignificant proportion of female thefts. This effectively disposes of Simon's (1975b,p.19)

TABLE 5.1. - POLICE DEPARTMENT THEFT FIGURES FOR 1980:
OFFENDERS APPREHENDED (RAW NUMBERS)

<u>TYPE OF THEFT</u>	<u>NUMBERS APPREHENDED IN EACH AGE GROUP</u>			
	<u>PERSONS AGED 16 MINUS</u>		<u>PERSONS AGED 17 PLUS</u>	
	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Theft of drugs	4	4	2	27
Theft from shops (mainly shoplifting)	3032	3334	2538	1454
Pillage	5	47	8	49
Theft from cars	122	1787	71	2236
Theft from the person	19	99	26	107
Theft from dwellings	102	341	121	439
General theft (mainly property)	620	2925	671	3830
Theft as servant	33	60	162	858

claim that increases in female theft offences are employment related - at least in New Zealand. It is also apparent that females are heavily involved only in shoplifting and general property theft, while males are also heavily involved in thefts from cars. Sex differences are pronounced except in the case of shoplifting. There is virtually no sex difference in the younger age group, but female shoplifting is almost double male shoplifting in the older age group.

When shoplifting, fraud, forgery and social security fraud are considered as a group, they share certain significant characteristics:

- (i) A low level of force or physical activity is required;
- (ii) They are all linked to the traditional female activity of shopping (except for social security fraud, which is linked with the even more traditional role of child care);
- (iii) Sex differences are not being maintained.

The 'more-masculine' property offences - burglary, receiving, damage and conversion - are all characterised by large and increasing sex differences. They also require (with the exception of receiving stolen property) more force or physical activity than the 'less-masculine' property offences.

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 show, however, that both 'more-masculine' and 'less-masculine' property offences play a major role in the offence profiles of both sexes.

(c) Victimless offences showing greatest female representation are indigent child, idle and disorderly, minors found in bars, prostitution, and (in the Children's Court only) drugs (other). The first three offences involve behaviour which is illegal only for minors. And prostitution will continue to be dominated by females as long as the market for female sexual services exceeds the

market for male sexual services. The convergence of drugs (other) offence rates in the Children's Court is not easy to interpret, given the pronounced sex differences in the District Court. However, drugs (other) offence rates for both sexes are very low in the Children's Court.

The 'more-masculine' victimless offences - cannabis, District Court drugs (other), and minor traffic offences - are defined by large and increasing sex differences. Physical activity or force are not as noticeably pertinent in this group, however.

Once again, Tables 4.3 and 4.4 show that the same offence categories are predominant for both females and males in this group. And they include both 'more' and 'less' masculine offence categories.

Therefore, while females are represented most highly in crimes which are linked to traditional female sex-role activities, both sexes engage in a wide variety of offences, and both 'more' and 'less' masculine offence categories play a major role in the offence profiles of both sexes.

Women's place - parallels between legal and illegal activities

The relationship between female criminality and traditional female sex-role responsibilities and activities, to be found in the New Zealand data, gives some support to the view that females occupy similar positions in both the legal and illegal spheres of society (see p.20).

There are many areas - legal and illegal - where female representation is low: construction work and burglary, for instance; executive decision-making in big business and in organised crime; engineering and professional safebreaking. In both spheres of endeavour, females are more often found in activities involving low

skills, low responsibility, and low financial rewards.

The parallel is not complete, however. The "sexism which still pervades the straight world" (Weis 1976, p.24) may not be quite as marked in the illegal world. In the straight world, many occupations are sex-linked, and this linkage can be to either maleness or femaleness. There are some occupations, for example, which males rarely enter as they are strongly linked to femaleness - e.g., typing, nursing - and to do so would invite ridicule and loss of status.

In the illegal world, on the other hand, sex-linkage is limited to maleness. There are no offences which are linked to femaleness, with the exceptions of prostitution, infanticide (narrowly defined) and possibly shoplifting. Many offences traditionally associated with females are regarded as sex-linked because female representation is atypically high. But, in fact, the most that females achieve is near parity with males. They rarely dominate.

Trends in female crime in New Zealand

The major trend is, of course, the almost universal rise in offence rates. The only female rates which have not increased since 1950 are:

- (i) The three violent 'domestic' offences against the person - homicide, infanticide, and cruelty to children;
- (ii) Abortion and bigamy (reduced to zero or near zero after abortion and divorce laws liberalised);
- (iii) Sex offences and kidnapping (almost exclusive to males); and
- (iv) The juvenile 'misbehaviour' offences - indigent child and idle and disorderly - which are now rarely used for either sex.

In order to see this general upward trend in perspective, however, it is necessary to also consider male offence rates. These,

of course, have also risen since 1950. The only differences between males and females in this respect are kidnapping (only rising for males) and prostitution (only rising for females).

Another significant trend is a flattening out of the crime rate in several offence categories since the mid-seventies. This is particularly noticeable in the property offences (except for fraud, forgery, and social security fraud), and applies to both sexes, and to both Courts. The same trend is apparent in the wounding, traffic (serious and minor), and assault offence categories (although female assaults in the District Court continued to rise until 1980). Perhaps some sort of 'saturation level' has been reached. Perhaps the flattening out reflects the upper limit of police ability to apprehend offenders. Perhaps it represents the end of the post-war 'baby boom'. Or perhaps it reflects a similar flattening out of the urbanisation rate (see Fig. 3.1(vi), p.70).

While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt to identify the social forces shaping crime trends, it is nevertheless interesting to speculate on the nature of the relationship between urbanisation and crime trends in New Zealand.

Urbanisation, which correlates very highly with a wide range of offences (see Tables 4.10 to 4.13, pp.128-131), is firmly established as an influence on levels of crime (Kraus 1973, p.227). In New Zealand cities, there is more to steal, more opportunities for theft, more anonymity, more ostentatious display of wealth, greater extremes between the rich and the poor, more relative deprivation, and more real poverty. There are also larger schools and therefore larger peer-group associations, where behaviour trends are disseminated. These trends do not just differentiate the city from the country, however. They also differentiate the city at different times. New Zealand cities in the 1980s are more

'criminogenic' by the above criteria than they were in the 1950s.

The offences which have continued to rise throughout the seventies are : robbery, fraud, forgery, social security fraud, and the drug and alcohol offences. These may reflect time-related trends as well as urban-rural differences. For example, the fraud and forgery offences may reflect the trend away from cash currency. Social security fraud reflects rising unemployment, rising divorce rates, and changing attitudes towards unmarried mothers. Drug and alcohol offences reflect the growing interest in, and availability of, these substances for recreational purposes. And robbery perhaps reflects an apparent growing availability of firearms in New Zealand and the willingness to use them.

Whatever factors are responsible for the trends in New Zealand crime over the last thirty years, it is quite apparent that the same trends apply to both sexes. This suggests strongly that both sexes are responding to the same social forces.

The emancipation hypothesis

The present analysis of female crime in New Zealand identifies very few offence categories where female crime is rising faster than male crime. There has certainly been no general relative rise in female crime in New Zealand. Reinterpretation of United States data (see pp.17-18, and p.26) shows that the widespread acceptance by most United States writers of a general relative rise is based on faulty methodology, and that there has been no such trend in the United States either.

The emancipation hypothesis is, in fact, based on the false premise that there has been a general relative rise in female crime. When this premise is set aside, it becomes clear that it is quite unwarranted to invoke such a general variable as 'women's emancipation'

to explain the small number of offence categories where some degree of convergence is evident. More satisfactory explanations for these are likely to be found in areas more directly specific to criminality.

In addition to the above, the failure of the conventional indices of emancipation to provide higher correlations with converging crime rates than with other crime rates, and their failure to provide higher correlations with female rates than do other measures of social change or the equivalent male rates, provide further evidence that the emancipation hypothesis has very little, if any, empirical support.

The very high correlations among the independent variables, and between most independent variables and the offence rates of both sexes, suggest that just one major underlying variable has been tapped by this exercise - a very general 'social change' factor.

Many writers, whether they support or criticise the emancipation hypothesis, seem to regard women's emancipation as an underlying, unitary social force, which may or may not affect female criminality. However, it may be more realistic to regard both the women's movement and any advances so far achieved in women's position, as outcomes of liberal and socialist philosophies stemming in turn from the 18th century industrial revolution in Europe. These philosophies are still powerful determinants of social change today, and the technological revolution, which has its roots in the industrial revolution, has been an even more powerful determinant of social change. It is quite possible, therefore, that the search for indices specifically measuring emancipation of women will always in fact tap these underlying streams.

Accounting for convergence

Can plausible explanations, which do not rely on the emancipation hypothesis, be found for the few instances of offence rate convergence?

Alternative explanations for convergence in the 'less-masculine' property crimes (shoplifting, fraud, forgery and social security fraud) come easily to mind. These explanations are linked to the concept of sex-determined opportunities to engage in certain crimes (Weis 1976, p.24).

It is possible that the very high frequency of, and the female predominance in, shoplifting offences, is due to the related influences of mass advertising and the change to open-plan, self-service stores, where goods are deliberately displayed in such a way as to encourage shoppers (most of whom are still women) to see, to want, and to take. The unintended but perhaps inevitable consequence of this seductive display is an increase in the number of people whose desire to possess an item has been stimulated, while the desire or ability to pay for it remains unaffected. Coupled with the increase in shoplifting has been an indignant response by retailers, who now claim that they will prosecute all persons caught shoplifting. In this respect, there has probably been a sharp decline in the 'chivalry' traditionally extended towards shoplifters, which must help boost the theft figures each year.

With regard to fraud and forgery offences, there has been a marked shift in recent years away from the use of cash in favour of cheque accounts and (more recently) credit cards. As well as being convenient for customers to use, they also encourage people to spend more, and to pay interest on the money spent. Just as self-service stores encourage shoplifting, access to cheque books and credit cards must encourage both impulsive and opportunistic frauds and forgeries. Simon (1975b) argued that women will take advantage

of increased opportunities for crime. While there is no evidence that this is the case for employment-related offences, it may well be the case that women will quickly take advantage of expanding opportunities in traditional fields.

And with regard to social security fraud, it is very likely that the Domestic Purposes Benefit - introduced in the 1970s - is responsible for the convergence in this offence category. Relatively few men receive this benefit and therefore are not often in a position to be charged with trying to obtain it fraudulently. On the other hand, relatively few women receive the unemployment benefit, and so are less often in a position to be charged with trying to obtain it fraudulently. These two factors may well explain the similarity of the rates for both sexes since the mid-seventies.

This type of explanation leaves the convergence in Children's Court wounding and drugs (other) unaccounted for. Correlations between each of these offence categories (in the Children's Court only) and the whole range of independent variables are unusually low (see Tables 4.12 and 4.13 on pp. 130 and 131) for both sexes. This suggests that the rather general 'social change' factor which appears to have been tapped by several of the independent variables has not been the most important influence on the frequency with which these offences occur. It is possible that changing socialisation practices relating to this younger age group is a causal agent. Or it could be that the low frequency of these two offences for both sexes in this age group means that perceived trends are in fact chance fluctuations. It is also possible that declining chivalry is a relevant factor.

Declining chivalry has been advanced (see pp. 22-23) as a plausible explanation of converging crime rates. Declining chivalry

is difficult to measure without access to two sets of data - before and after 'processing'. Police Department data are available from 1964 onwards for the broad offence category of theft¹. Table 5.2. shows the percentage of offenders (i.e., Distinct Cases, not Total Charges) of both sexes who are actually prosecuted after being apprehended by the police. There are large fluctuations in these percentages from year to year, but these fluctuations are not systematic. There is no real evidence of declining chivalry, or of any chivalry towards females at all.

Having said this, the District Court figures for 1964 to 1966 show that, for three years running, a smaller proportion of females than males ended up in Court. In the absence of police data prior to 1964, it is impossible to say whether these were the last years of police chivalry towards females, or whether they are chance fluctuations. The timing seems very significant, however. 1967 is often regarded as the watershed year of the modern women's movement. And in that year, the New Zealand police got disproportionately 'tough' with women, prosecuting 71% of females apprehended for theft, but only 56% of males. Thereafter the trend settles down to reasonable parity between the sexes.

Declining chivalry, therefore, remains a plausible but unproven variable in relation to converging crime rates, but needing police data prior to 1964 before its influence can be either confirmed or contradicted.

¹ Figures are also available for fraud and forgery offences. However, it is difficult to relate these to the Justice Statistics fraud and forgery offence categories. I have therefore focused on theft, where the figures relate well, rather than risk making wrong inferences based on misinterpretation of the data.

TABLE 5.2. - PERCENTAGE OF APPREHENDED THEFT OFFENDERS
PROSECUTED IN COURT (DISTINCT CASES)

YEAR	PERCENTAGE PROSECUTED			
	DISTRICT COURT		CHILDREN'S COURT	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
1964	64	73	*-	*-
1965	70	85	*-	*-
1966	75	86	*-	*-
1967	71	56	*-	*-
1968	61	58	37	35
1969	60	61	36	33
1970	78	76	36	37
1971	82	72	41	37
1972	64	58	25	29
1973	56	59	20	28
1974	46	60	24	30
1975	61	62	22	23
1976	67	63	17	21
1977	75	70	19	22
1978	71	77	**-	**-
1979	*-	*-	*-	*-
1980	72	75	16	25

* Police Department data not available

** Justice Statistics not available (Children's Court data not published for 1978)

Feminist perspectives on female criminality

The feminist perspective which underlies most recent research into female criminality is not a unified body of opinion. Some of the main protagonists on both sides of the emancipation debate have been feminists.

Adler and Simon take the view that women and men are fundamentally similar and that they will behave in similar ways under the same conditions. Radical criminologists like Klein and Kress also operate on this assumption. But as Marxists, they regard both crime and women's subordination as products of the capitalist system. When that is replaced by a socialist state, both crime and sexism should cease to exist.

In 1977, Campbell (pp. 172-173) argued that labelling effects were responsible for the apparent sex differential in crime. By 1981, however, labelling theory is not mentioned in the subject index of her book, Girl Delinquents. Her work these days focuses on delinquency as a social activity for girls and boys. And she has come to the conclusion that "More time spent in mixed-sex groups is bound also to lead to a reduction in sex-role disparity and a more active role for girls in all activities - some of which may be delinquent" (Campbell 1981, p.89).

It may be argued, therefore, that Campbell, together with other researchers such as Weis and Steffensmeier, tacitly accept a general form of the emancipation hypothesis. In adopting the view that women's position in society is mirrored in both conventional and illegal areas, they imply a belief that, if and when changes occur in legal areas, these will be mirrored in illegal areas also.

Carol Smart, another British criminologist, has become very ambivalent in her attitude to this perspective. In 1976 (p.68),

before she had heard of Freda Adler, Smart was content to accept that "...the lower involvement of girls in delinquency continues to be primarily related to existing socialisation patterns...". In other words, she accepted that the behaviour of girls and boys will become less dissimilar as their socialisation experiences become more alike, in both the legal and illegal spheres.

By 1979 (p.51), however, Smart appears to have backed off from this general perspective, recognising that it does imply some form of the emancipation hypothesis. In fact, she criticises Adler for claiming that "liberation in conventional areas is mirrored in illegal areas" (Smart 1979, p.51).

Smart appears to be reacting rather defensively to any implication that the struggle for equality could have any but totally prosocial results. If she rejects the possibility of a rather mixed bag of changes in female behaviour, as and if socialisation practices and opportunities change and expand, Smart is in danger of retreating into a reactionary stance which holds that women are somehow morally superior to men, and do not respond in the same way to identical stimuli.

The empirical evidence to date confirms that there has been no overall increase in female crime relative to male crime, and that the direction of female crime is not changing. Similarly, there have been very few changes to the lives of working class women (who are the ones most likely to end up in court) which are likely to influence criminal behaviour. Middle and upper class women have been the main beneficiaries of the struggle for emancipation. Working class women are still 'slaves of slaves' who tend to share the ideology of their oppressors.

For the future, it seems reasonable to expect that the behaviour of females and males will become less dissimilar the more alike they

are treated. Whether females will commit more criminal behaviour as a result, or whether males will commit less, will depend on the quality of these changes.

Apart from Smart's retreat into a defensive posture, the main difference between the various feminist perspectives seems to be one of timing. Adler and Simon mistakenly thought that changes in both sexism and criminality would occur rapidly. Klein and Kress, on the other hand, do not anticipate that any significant change will occur until the revolution, when both sexism and criminality will disappear as their cause - capitalism - is dismantled.

Campbell and most other contributors to the debate (e.g., Weis and Steffensmeier) adopt what seems to be a more realistic position, somewhere between Adler and Simon's naive optimism and Klein and Kress's radical utopianism. These writers envisage a long, slow process of change in socialisation practices which will gradually lead to a lessening of the sex differential in delinquency. Whether the changes are fast or slow, however, feminist criminologists will have to face the possibility that women's emancipation, like any social change, may have one or two unwanted consequences. This seems a small price to pay, however, particularly since another outcome of emancipation may be a reduction in crimes specifically directed at women (e.g. rape, domestic assault). In any case, with cultural attitudes and social structures so resistant to change, advances in the social position of the majority of women, and also changes in criminal behaviour, will probably prove to be a long time coming.

Implications for psychology

(a) Sex-role socialisation

The emancipation hypothesis, as defined by Adler (1975), is derived from cultural explanations of sex differences in criminality,

and these have their roots in the study of sex-role socialisation.

Adler's claim that the modern women's movement was rapidly changing female behaviour, had profound implications for the study of sex-role socialisation. If Adler was right, it meant that the durability of attitudes and behaviour patterns acquired as a result of early childhood training had been greatly exaggerated. Adler was claiming, in fact, that sex-role indoctrination could be, and was being, pushed aside by young women who only needed to heed the word to become converted to an almost wholly new set of beliefs and attitudes about themselves and the world they lived in. And some of these young women were the 'new female criminals' that Adler thought she could glimpse behind the rows and columns of numbers in the UCR statistics.

As it has turned out, Adler was wrong. There is no 'new female criminal'. And so her challenge to orthodox ideas on the acquisition of sex roles is without foundation.

(b) Sex differences - innate or learned?

While most female crime rates remain much lower than their male equivalents, female criminality has nevertheless shown great upward flexibility, to the extent that it has overtaken 1950 male rates in a wide range of offence categories, including several sex-linked to maleness. In addition, Maori females are charged more often than non-Maori males for theft, fraud and forgery offences, and possibly others too.

These trends cannot by themselves disprove the 'innate differences' perspective, but they clearly demonstrate the enormous plasticity of the behaviour of both sexes. It seems that other social forces have more immediate influence on female rates than any hypothetical innate difference.

(c) Differential effects of social forces

The steep rises in many offence categories, for both sexes, suggest that the social forces which determine illegal behaviour levels exert a strong pressure. And the sex differential suggests that males and females respond to these pressures with different degrees of sensitivity. However, the constant or increasing sex differences in many offence categories, and convergence in others, indicate that differential responses depend not just on the sex of the individual, but also on the type of offence. This absence of a uniform, sex-linked response (to property offences in particular) suggests that females are not simply more psychologically 'honest' than males, or that they are necessarily more obedient to society's norms regarding honesty. Differential involvement in various property offences must therefore relate to qualities of the crime itself, such as opportunity to perform the appropriate behaviour, willingness or skill to do so, or attractiveness of the items obtainable by such behaviour. These factors involve both structural and cultural aspects of behaviour.

Improvement of Justice Statistics

The pros and cons of using official records, rather than obtaining information directly from individuals, have already been discussed (see pp.8-9,50-51). This comment focuses on areas where the presentation of the New Zealand Justice Statistics could be improved for research purposes.

(i) Limiting the Maori/whole population comparison tables to 'arrest cases only' raises the possibility that part of the ethnic difference in the statistics is caused by police arresting Maoris for behaviour that they would summons non-Maoris for. It would be better to provide data of arrests and summonses for both/all ethnic groups.

(ii) The different data bases of the Children's Court and District Court age tables make a proper age analysis impossible. In the District Court, age data is presented for 'Total Charges, Arrest Cases, Convictions Only'. In the Children's court, however, age data is presented for 'Distinct Cases, Arrests and Summonses' (convictions and acquittals). They could hardly be less comparable.

(iii) More meaningful data on socio-economic class is needed. District Court 'Occupation Groups by Offence Group' tables include professors with their laboratory assistants, and managing directors with their typists.

(iv) It would be very helpful if some large and heterogeneous offence categories (e.g. theft) could be broken down into sub-categories. Long-term data on shoplifting and employment-related offences would have been of great value to this project.

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CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

The specific conclusions of this study are as follows:

1. Since 1950, female offence rates have been generally much lower than male rates. However, while offence rates differ, offence profiles have been fairly similar. It is concluded that female criminality differs from male criminality more in degree than in kind.
2. Offence rates for both sexes have risen markedly since 1950, but many of them have levelled off since the mid-1970s. It is concluded that male and female criminality are affected by the same social forces, which act on the behaviour of each sex at different levels of intensity.
3. Sex differences in offence rates are increasing, with the exception of the following :
 - (i) Offences against the person which have domestic connotations or are otherwise child-related;
 - (ii) Property offences connected with shopping and child care; and
 - (iii) Prostitution, and certain other offences illegal only for minors.

It is accepted that traditional female sex roles are reflected in the criminal behaviour of New Zealand females.

4. It was found that certain accepted methods for identifying changes in the relationship between male and female offence rates lead to systematic over-estimation of such changes. On the basis of an evaluation of various methods, it is argued that the least problematic method to date is to measure whether or not actual convergence between the female and male rates is

occurring.

5. Convergence between female and male rates has been occurring only in adult and juvenile fraud (including social security fraud), adult forgery, and juvenile wounding and drugs offences (other than cannabis). It is concluded that there is no overall trend towards convergence.
6. It was found that several conventional measures of women's emancipation are not the best correlates of converging female offence rates. A range of other social change variables correlate as well or better. It is concluded that increases in female crime relative to male crime cannot be attributed to women's emancipation.

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